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25 killed in Jerusalem, Ashkelon attacks

84 wounded in Hamas suicide bombings

BILL HUTMAN and RAINE MARCUS

HAMAS claimed responsibility for the suicide bombing of an Egged bus near Jerusalem's central bus station yesterday that left 24 people dead and more than 50 wounded, and for the blast at the Ashkelon junction in which one was killed and 34 people were wounded.

Last night, 55 people were still hospitalized, 19 in serious or critical condition.

Police Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz said Hamas apparently coordinated the two suicide attacks.

The bombs used in the two attacks were also very similar. "All indications are that the same hand was involved in putting together both bombs," said Dep.-Cmdr. Arik, head of national bomb squad.

Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal said the suicide-bombers disguised as Israelis.

"He was dressed like an Israeli youngster, with the same kind of haircut and an earring," Shahal told Reuters about the Ashkelon bomber. "He looked like any teenager from Israel. People probably thought that he looked like someone who was waiting for a ride."

He said the Jerusalem bomber hid his bomb in an army kitbag and wore a disguise. "The fact is that no one noticed anything suspicious about him," he said.

The Palestinian Police began rounding up suspected supporters of Izzadin Kassam, the armed wing of Hamas, in the pro-Hamas Sheikh Radwan neighborhood of Gaza City last night.

Local sources said Preventive Security Service agents went from house to house and were seen taking away people in jeeps. Hamas sources reported 25 were arrested yesterday before the roundup.

At about 6:45 a.m., between 10 and 20 kilograms of TNT ripped apart a No. 18 bus just meters from the intersection of Jaffa Road and Rehov Sarai Yis-

rael. A No. 36 bus behind it was damaged, as were five vehicles also stopped at the traffic light.

"I heard the explosion, looked up, and saw what looked like a body flying through the air," said Yitzhak Reuven, an Egged ticket-checker who was standing across the intersection.

"People were calling out, 'Help me, help me,' and 'I'm burning.' There were bodies and parts of bodies all over the place," Reuven said.

Jerusalem police chief Arye Amit said a suicide bomber somewhere in the middle of the bus apparently set off the explosion. The roof was blown off, and the bus was completely gutted. Only two rows of seats in the back remained intact.

Forty-five minutes later, another suicide bomber detonated a similar, but smaller bomb at a packed hitchhiking post outside Ashkelon. Two people — one believed to be the terrorist — were killed and 34 wounded.

By late afternoon, nine bodies from the Jerusalem blast were still not identified. Police believed the terrorist bomber was among them. The bodies were taken to the National Forensics Institute at Abu Kabir.

Police sources said the initial investigation provided no leads to the terrorist's identity or where he got on the bus. Hamas distributed a pamphlet claiming both bombers were from the village of El-Arub, near Hebron.

A Palestinian source, however, said one of the bombers apparently came from El-Arub, and the second from the Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza.

"The meaning of this attack is that the battlefield has been brought to Jerusalem," said Mayor Ehud Olmert. "Jerusalem is the now the main target, and must receive the most attention from the security forces."

Olmert called on both the government and opposition not to try to use the attack for political gain. He also called on residents to show restraint in venting their anger.

(Continued on Page 2)



The body of one of 24 people killed in yesterday's bomb blast in Jerusalem lies near the remains of the No. 18 bus. (Brian Hendler)

The dead

THE majority of the 24 people killed in yesterday's Jerusalem bus bombing — a figure that includes the bomber — were from the capital. By press time, 16, including two US citizens, had been identified.

Sgt. Yonatan Barnea, 20; St.-Sgt. Gavriel Krauss, 24, St.-Sgt. Gadi Shiloni, 22, Cpl. Moshe Reuven, 19; St.-Sgt. Maj. (res.) Arye Barashi, 39; Cpl. Iliya Nimotin, 19, Cpl. Merav Nahum, 19; and Sgt. Sharon Hanuka, 19, were all from Jerusalem, as was Arik Gaby, 16, who was attending a pre-army boarding school.

Other victims included Americans Matthew Eisenfeld, 25, and Sara Duker.

Daniel Biton, 42; Yitzhak Elbaz, 57; Boris Sharpolinsky, 64; Simeon Trakashvili, 64; and Yitzhak Yachnis, 54, of the capital, were also killed, as was Navon Shabo, 22, of Bnei Brak, who had been on his way to work in Tel Aviv.

Sgt. Hofit Ayyash, 20, of Ashdod was killed in the bombing at the Ashkelon junction.

Several of the victims were buried yesterday. Gaby, from the capital's Katamon district, was buried in the military cemetery at Mt. Herzl yesterday afternoon.

Reuven was also buried at Mt. Herzl yesterday evening. He had been serving in the civil administration and was on his way to his base in Beit El. He is survived by his parents, a brother and a sister.

Hundreds of friends and relatives attended Nahum's funeral at Mt. Herzl yesterday. Nahum, who is survived by her parents and younger sister, began her army service three months ago.

Shabo was buried in the Hayaron Cemetery last night. He studied printing and was a counselor in the Bnei Akiva movement.

Barnea, the son of Yediot Aharon columnist and veteran journalist Nahum Barnea, is to be buried this afternoon at 3 p.m. at Mt. Herzl.

Nimotin was born in Leningrad and immigrated in 1991. He is to be buried this morning at Mt. Herzl at 10. (Itim)

Security officials not surprised by attacks, stunned by daring Gillon: Terrorists have advanced a step

STEVE RODAN

SECURITY officials said they were not surprised by the attacks, but were stunned by the terrorist's daring and their ability to carry out simultaneous attacks.

"They have advanced another step," said Karni Gillon, former head of the General Security Service.

Gillon told Channel 1 that the number of terror attacks has dropped by 70% since Yasser Arafat's arrival in Gaza, and that since April 1995, Arafat has done substantially more, foiling several terror attacks. He cited cooperation between Israel and the PA security apparatus as a positive

factor, while admitting that Israel's own intelligence network has been hurt following the IDF's pullout from population centers in the territories.

At the same time, he echoed the assessment of Brig.-Gen. Ya'acov Amidror, deputy chief of IDF Intelligence, who told the cabinet yesterday that Arafat has yet to "root out the terrorist infrastructure."

The infrastructure is critical, as it takes many people to perform a variety of tasks before a suicide bomber blows himself up, Gillon said.

The question, officials said, is whether Hamas regards the bombings as a settling of scores for the assassination of Yihye Ayyash or whether the success would prompt a wave of attacks.

Security officials had expected Hamas to retaliate for the assassination of Ayyash in January, despite a PA pledge to prevent terrorism. Israel imposed a closure on the territories for most of the past seven weeks to prevent the attacks promised by Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

But as time went on, security sources said, political pressure to lift the closure increased. Officials dealing with the Palestinians warned of heightened tensions unless Arab laborers were allowed to work.

Security officials were embarrassed by the insistence of government leaders that they recommend the lifting of the closure last Friday, a move that some sources

Closure placed on territories

DAVID MAKOVSKY and ON LEVY

PRIME Minister Shimon Peres and top security officials leaned heavily last night in favor of imposing a "prolonged closure" throughout the territories after yesterday's bombings, according to senior officials.

Security sources believe the territories will be sealed for at least a week.

On Saturday night, the General Security Service recommended that the closure, which had been lifted on Friday, be renewed. However, the IDF was opposed to such a move, and Peres decided to accept its recommendation.

Senior military sources emphasized that the decision to lift the closure was made despite the warnings of a planned terror attack, because of the economic strains of most of the residents of the territories.

Among those who met with Peres yesterday were Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, GSS head Ami Ayalon, Police Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz, Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal, and Peres's military aide Maj.-Gen. Danny Yatom.

Peres also met with Foreign Minister Ehud Barak and Interior Minister Haim Ramon. The three discussed the electoral implications of the attack and how it would impact upon Labor's message to the public.

All three noted the restraint of the Likud in the aftermath of the attack and said it reflected putting the national good ahead of partisan interest.

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2 American victims came to study for a year

MARILYN HENRY
NEW YORK

MATTHEW Eisenfeld was a rabbinical student and an a cappella singer. His fiancée, Sara Duker, had a passion for the environment and a penchant for purple sneakers.

The two, studying in Israel this year, were the Americans killed in yesterday's terror attack in Jerusalem.

In a statement issued from his home in West Hartford, Connecticut, Eisenfeld's family said they hoped the peace process would succeed.

Eisenfeld was a second-year rabbinical student at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York and was spending a year at the seminary's Jerusalem campus.

"Matt's dream was to go to a town where there were Jews but not a strong Jewish community and help them," said Joshua Cahhan, Eisenfeld's friend from Yale.

Eisenfeld helped found Magevet, a group of Jewish a cappella singers at Yale, in 1993, his senior year. "He wanted to sing and make beautiful music," said Cahhan, a member of Magevet. "He thought it was so neat to give expression to his feelings of love of Judaism."

At Yale, Eisenfeld majored in religious studies and wrote his senior thesis on the philosophy of Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel and J.B. Soloveitchik. "Their ideas moved him," Cahhan said.

Yesterday, he recalled a party his friend once gave. "We were dancing and singing and being silly and listening to Pete Seeger. Then we suddenly sat down, he looked me right in the eye and he said, 'I want to talk to you about Heschel.'"

"It struck me that he cared so much about it, and he trusted me to have an insight about it," Cahhan said.

Between graduation from Yale and beginning rabbinical school, Eisenfeld spent a year in Efrat, studying with Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, Cahhan said.

Duker, of Teaneck, New Jersey, was working this year as a research technician in microbiology at Hebrew University. She graduated from Barnard College of Columbia University last year and planned to do graduate work in environmental studies, said Rabbi Kenneth Berger of Congregation Beth Shalom.

Last year, Duker participated in an environmental studies exchange program between the US and Russia. "When they went to Siberia, she made a point of visiting Jewish families," Berger said. Her high-school yearbook paints a portrait of a vivacious, energetic young woman.

"A lovable chameleon who has many levels of insanity concealed beneath her seemingly quiet exterior," says the yearbook from the Frisch School in Paramus, New Jersey. "A true eccentric hides behind those purple sneakers."

Sara's sister Tammy was spending this year in Israel studying at Ben-Gurion University. The Eisenfeld family said in a statement that Matt, as class spokesman at a school ceremony after the assassination of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, "spoke eloquently in support of the Middle East peace process."



Friends and relatives of Arik Gaby, who was killed in yesterday's bomb blast in Jerusalem, weep at the 16-year-old's funeral at Mt. Herzl. (AP)

'Ashkelon bomber may have worn IDF uniform'

RAINE MARCUS

ONLY 45 minutes after a terrorist blew up the No. 18 bus in Jerusalem yesterday morning, another suicide bomber detonated a similar but smaller bomb at a packed hitchhiking post outside Ashkelon.

Two people - one of them believed to be the terrorist - were killed and 34 injured in the explosion, for which Hamas took responsibility.

Police and security services believe the same group orchestrated the Jerusalem and Ashkelon bombings, which were "highly organized and well coordinated," according to security sources.

The woman soldier who died in the explosion was named last night as Sgt. Hovit Ayyash, 20, of Ashdod. Her funeral will take place today.

The explosion occurred at about 7:30, as scores of soldiers and civilians were waiting at the post, many discussing the news about the Jerusalem attack.

The terrorist, whose identity is still unknown, was reportedly wearing an IDF uniform and managed to mingle with soldiers without drawing attention to himself. The bomber had 3 kg, to 5 kg, of TNT and nails strapped to the upper part of his body.

Security forces and ambulances arrived at the junction and major roads were sealed off for several hours.

The wounded were taken to Ashkelon's Barzilai Hospital. One was dead on arrival, two were in critical condition, and seven were in serious condition suffering from head and spine injuries.

By last night seven of the lightly wounded had been sent home, while 19 remained in the hospital suffering from light to moderate wounds. Five of the seriously wounded were flown in IDF helicopters to Tel Hashomer's Sheba

Hospital, while another one was flown to Beersheba's Soroka Hospital.

"Most of those still in the hospital are suffering from cuts and injuries caused by shrapnel," said Barzilai Hospital's emergency ward head Dr. Emil Hai.

Moshe Nissimpor was at a nearby gas station when he heard the blast and rushed to the scene before police and Magen David Adom ambulances arrived.

"One soldier flew in the air from the impact," he said. "It was a shocking sight. I told other people with me to run there to help."

Nissimpor described how he evacuated two female soldiers. "One needed a stretcher but an ambulance arrived immediately so we helped put her into the ambulance," he said. "The neck of the other soldier was nearly severed from her body. It was horrible. I found a towel and covered her head."

Eyewitness Yitzhak Zvilli said he had been near the post when the bomb went off. "I turned to my left and saw this huge fireball and then body parts," he said.

Another man said he was near the public phone booth when the bomb exploded. "The phone blew to pieces," he said.

Soldier Yael Pinkas described how she was waiting for a ride to her army base. "I was just about to get into a car when suddenly I heard a massive explosion," she said. "I heard screaming and a man put me into his car and took me to the hospital."

The man later sent Pinkas a bunch of flowers to Barzilai Hospital, and wished her a speedy recovery.

Police Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz arrived on the scene as the last of belongings and re-

mains were being cleared and washed away by emergency crews and street cleaners. He was greeted by some 40 angry demonstrators chanting anti-government slogans.

"We are still checking whether the terrorist was wearing an IDF uniform - the fact that no one noticed him suggests he was in disguise," said Hefetz.

He emphasized that even if the closure of the territories had not been lifted yesterday, there was no certainty that the attacks would not have occurred.

"While sealing off the territories reduces the chances of attacks, it does not prevent them entirely," he said. "This is a free country, people move around freely and there is always a chance that a terrorist can cross the Green Line or the Erez checkpoint, either on foot or in a vehicle even if the territories are closed."

Deputy Defense Minister Ori Orr also arrived at the junction before proceeding to Barzilai Hospital to visit the injured.

If yesterday's attack in Jerusalem was reminiscent of the bombing of bus No. 5 on Tel Aviv's Dizengoff street in October 1994, the blast at the Ashkelon junction, surrounded by fields, was similar to that at Beit Lid.

If the bomb had exploded in a more closed area, said police, the number of dead would have been greater.

Still, in the late afternoon hours, after all carnage had been cleared away, volunteers from the Hevra Kadisha's identification unit were still scouring nearby fields for body parts and belongings.

The crowd of demonstrators dispersed after around two hours. At 6:30, around 40 people arrived at the junction and quietly lit memorial candles.

Army launches security probe at hitchhiking post

ON LEVY

THE IDF Operations Branch is checking security arrangements at the hitchhiking post at the Ashkelon junction where yesterday's suicide attack occurred.

The investigation began yesterday and is to be completed within the coming days. Responsibility for security at the site is in the hands of the Home Front Command's Lachish District, with the assistance of the police. The IDF hopes to determine how security guards failed to notice the terrorist before he arrived

at the post. Since the Beit Lid bombing in January 1995, the IDF has stepped up security at the major army hitchhiking posts. After that attack, then prime minister and defense minister Yitzhak Rabin ordered the IDF and the police to work together to provide such security. Until the Beit Lid attack, the responsibility for this was exclusively on the IDF.

The initial decision to guard the main bus stops and hitchhiking posts used by soldiers was made several years ago, and the task is generally filled by soldiers from various units, depending on where the sites are located.

The addition of the police to the units providing security is intended to provide more time to keep an eye on anyone approaching them. The police are permitted to ask anyone they think is suspicious to identify himself, and can even arrest him.

Mother prepares for funeral instead of wedding

"INSTEAD of getting ready for your wedding, we're getting ready for your funeral. Why? What did she do? What was her sin?" wailed Ruth Ayyash, 43, of Ashdod, whose daughter Hovit, 20, died in the Ashkelon bombing.

Hovit had left home shortly after 6 a.m. on her way to her IDF base in the South. She was on leave just prior to discharge, and was going to return some equipment and to say farewell to her army buddies.

She caught a ride to the Ashkelon junction, and was standing next to the suicide bomber at the bus stop when he triggered the blast. She was killed instantly. Hovit, her uncle David Naveh said, was engaged and was to be married in four months. She had already picked out her wedding gown, and the couple had just signed the contract with the wed-

ding hall. "She was a wonderful girl," Naveh said. "She was special, outgoing; everybody loved her."

He noted that because of asthma and low weight, she could have gotten an exemption from military service, but had insisted on doing her duty.

"This is a black year," Ruth Ayyash went on. "Two weeks

ago, my husband Michael lost his mother: a year ago, his father. Now, he is burying a daughter."

The Ayyash family had moved to Ashdod from Afula eight years ago, Naveh said, and Hovit had been a good friend of Leah Gabbai, of that town, who was killed by an ax-wielding terrorist. Yesterday, Moshe Gabbai called his friend Michael Ayyash to offer condolences.

Hovit is to be buried in the military section of the Ashdod cemetery at 3 this afternoon. In addition to her parents, she is survived by two sisters, Yamit, 22, and Shabat, 5, and a brother, Gal, 14. (Lim)

Bus security unit to be expanded; passengers urged to be on alert

ON LEVY

THE Prime Minister's Office plans to order the expansion of the unit providing security for buses and bus stops, at the recommendation of Brig-Gen. Yigal Pressler, the prime minister's adviser on terrorism.

Senior sources in the Prime Minister's Office said this would require additional funding, but checks have shown that the unit is highly effective. Pressler has also recommended introducing technology designed to increase security on buses.

"The terrorists have chosen public transportation as a target because it is the most effective in terms of the results they want to achieve. In recent years, we can see a clear pattern of trying to attack public places, bus stops, or buses. Yesterday's attacks in Jerusalem and Ashkelon are serious ones. We have not grown accustomed to the attacks, nor can we," said one of the sources.

One of the ways to combat such terrorism, he added, is for bus passengers to be on the lookout. "Alertness is the watchword," he said. "As soon as a passenger sees someone [suspicious] at a bus stop or on the bus, he should tell the driver or a security person. Today, there is rarely a case where there isn't a security person, a soldier, or a policeman on board, and if they aren't, the driver should be told."

SECOND IN A SERIES

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Photographs and commentary by Neil Folberg
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Right Hook

G.O.P.'s Libertarian Streak Becomes a Blur

By ROBIN TONER

SOMETIMES what is important about a primary season is what doesn't happen. Exhibit A: The absence of a major Presidential candidate to speak, wholeheartedly and full-throatedly, for Republicans who support abortion rights or are otherwise uncomfortable with the conservative social agenda.

Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania made an effort, quoting Barry Goldwater's libertarian credo of a Government kept "out of our pockets, off our backs and out of our bedrooms." But Mr. Specter was gone by November, out of money and stalled in the polls in the low single digits. Steve Forbes has more middle-of-the-road positions on social issues than most of his colleagues, but his emphasis has been on the flat tax.

In fact, the 1996 campaign has become another case study in the ascendancy of conservative Christians and other values-oriented conservatives in the Republican Party: people who are primarily motivated by opposition to abortion or support for prayer in the schools, laws that would make divorces more difficult to obtain, or other elements of a social and moral agenda much removed from the old hands-off libertarian strain in the party. Andrew Kohut at the Pew Center for the People and the Press calls them the moralists, and estimates that they now account for about 40 percent of the likely Republican primary vote.

This bloc is no longer an insurgency in the Republican coalition, but an integral component — all the more influential because its



The lineup at their last New Hampshire debate: Alan Keyes, Morry Taylor, Steve Forbes, Representative Robert K. Dornan, Senator Bob Dole, Senator Richard G. Lugar, Lamar Alexander and, at right, Patrick J. Buchanan.

New 'moralists' gain on old 'hands-off' Republicans.

members often organize so well. That is apparent in the rise of Patrick J. Buchanan and in the careful positioning of the rest of the field: the Republican coalition has been utterly transformed in the last 30 years.

With their power growing — witness Mr. Buchanan's victory in the New Hampshire primary last week — some Republicans fret that their party has broken faith with a proud tradition, one that advocated not only free markets but a people free from the social engineers of the left or the right. In his later years, the paterfamilias of conservatism himself, Mr. Goldwater, has periodically reminded his party that one can be a true-blue conservative and still support abortion rights and a lifting of the ban on gays in the military.

But the rise of the social conservatives was no accident in the Republican Party; it was a grand strategic design. For many years now, the party has focused on building an alliance between those voters, many of them disaffected Democrats, and the more traditional Republicans drawn by the party's economics, who are often far more centrist on the social issues.

To draw those social conservatives in, the Republican Party had to move right; a watershed moment came in 1980, when the Reagan forces rewrote the party's platform, and along the way jettisoned support for the

Continued on page 3

Why the Party Can't Stop Buchanan

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

WHEN Haley Barbour, the Republican national chairman, was asked the day after the New Hampshire primary whether he could support Patrick J. Buchanan for President if Pitchfork Pat should win the party's nomination, he squirmed. Instead of answering directly, he said he had confidence in Republican voters' judgment.

He has little choice. In an age of political individualists joined only by electronic webs and shifting self-interest, neither party structures nor party chairmen amount to much. Nor, for that matter, does the party establishment whose nose Pat Buchanan so

loves to tweak, with all the gusto of a kid throwing paper clips at teachers when their backs are turned.

Once upon a time, party elders would have squashed a force as disruptive as the Buchanan campaign almost before it got started. But they could not stop Barry Goldwater's coup in 1964, and they are much weaker now.

The party establishment is bigger but more diffuse, including not only officeholders and party officials, as always, but also lobbyists and the inhabitants of conservative think tanks and money-raisers and journalist-theoreticians like Robert L. Bartley of The Wall Street Journal and Bill Kristol of The Standard. All exert an influence. But even when they work together, which they seldom do, they can exercise

Since before 1964, the establishment has been fast becoming less established.

little control over the rank-and-file without a strong candidate, and they do not have one.

Republican voters are a heterogeneous lot, skeptical like most Americans these days and not easily led.

Which is not to say that the establishment will not try.

Already, old Republican hands — sena-

tors, governors, contributors — are circling the wagons around Bob Dole. It happened in Delaware, which voted yesterday, and it is happening in Arizona, Georgia, Colorado and Texas, which will vote soon. Because the primaries are coming so fast now, Senator Dole may be helped by a good deal more by these endorsements than he was by that of Gov. Stephen Merrill in New Hampshire, where Mr. Buchanan won; organization counts for something when time for retail campaigning is short and when money for television commercials must be rationed.

But no one can be sure. The campaign of 1996, less than two months old, has already produced more than its quotient of surprises. Advertising and the money to pay for

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Casting About

'Primary Colors' goes Hollywood.

By Bernard Weinraub

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Rate vs. Debate

The abortion countdown.

By Anne Cronin

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Waiting for Germany

Now, Central Europe wants to join the west. It isn't happening.

By Alan Cowell

4

My Favorite Martian Is Shower Scum

By JOHN NOBLE WILFORD

ALONE in the universe like an only child, the human race keeps dreaming of an imaginary playmate. Someone to share the anxieties and joys of growing up. Someone to share the blame. Someone to dispel the loneliness of the sandbox in a big world.

So there came into being the once and future Martians. Once they were the little green men with death-ray weapons, enchanting and menacing. Now they are reduced in scientific imagination to putative microbes that may inhabit the planet's moist depths.

The news last week that scientists who are searching for Martian life expect to find snuff that looks more like shower scum than spooky men only underscores the passionate human conviction that there must be life somewhere on Mars. Scientists want to believe as much as everyone else.

The most spirited and persistent incarnation of extraterrestrial life has dwelled on Mars. The planet, only 35 million miles away at closest approach, has always tugged at the imagination. Its distinctive red hue has often evoked vivid images of blood and battle. From the time of the Sumerians more than 5,000 years ago, Mars has been the ominous symbol of war.

With the coming of telescopes, astronomers saw in Mars a planet most like Earth. It has four seasons, white polar caps that wax and wane, some atmosphere and a day only a little more than 24 hours long. In the 18th century, the astronomer William Herschel felt justified in concluding that the inhabitants of Mars "proba-



bly enjoy a situation in many respects similar to our own."

Even earlier, in the 17th century, the French astronomer Bernard de Fontenelle had reasoned: "The Earth swarms with inhabitants. Why then should nature, which is fruitful to an excess here, be so barren in the rest of the planets?" The idea of Martians certainly was not a radical proposition in those days.

Indeed, a century ago, the discovery of Martians seemed imminent. Astronomers and the possessed amateur Percival Lowell gazed on Mars and professed to see signs there of a canal-building civilization fallen on hard times.

Before long, belligerent Martians escaping their desiccated planet haunted literature, notably in H. G. Wells's "War of the Worlds." An eerily realistic adaptation of the novel, created for radio by Orson Welles, scared the wits out of many Americans the night before Halloween in 1938.

And even in the last few decades there have been intimations that Martian life not only exists but is the cause of life on Earth: scientists have made the far-out suggestion that life as we know it may have been brought here by asteroids that had crashed into Mars and picked up some Martian microbes.

Even when the idea of Martians seemed moribund, scientists could not resist using their newfound rocket power to send spacecraft toward the planet. Something — the unfinished work of

Continued on page 2

Martian life, according to the television series "Outer Limits."

Movie Still Archives

Ideas & Trends

Yes, There Is Such a Thing As Mind Over Matter

By GEORGE JOHNSON

EVEN Hippocrates knew that a blow to the head can leave bruises on the mind. By studying the effects of brain injuries, he demonstrated that the mind is centered not in the heart, as some romantics believed, but right behind the eyes.

It has taken centuries and the invention of brain-scanning to show that the connection between mind and brain is a two-way street: changing the mind, oddly enough, can alter the physical substance of the brain. But for all the scientific evidence, the interaction between what we think of as the material brain and the ethereal mind remains a source of wonder.

Two recent scientific studies — one on Alzheimer's disease and another on psychotherapy's effect on the brain — have further deepened the mystery. Last week,

device called a PET scanner, found that patients who learn through a series of behavioral techniques to resist their compulsive urges actually end up altering their brains: areas that once marched in lockstep become freer to operate on their own. The therapy leaves other neurological imprints similar to those produced by drugs like Prozac.

No Ghosts in That Machine

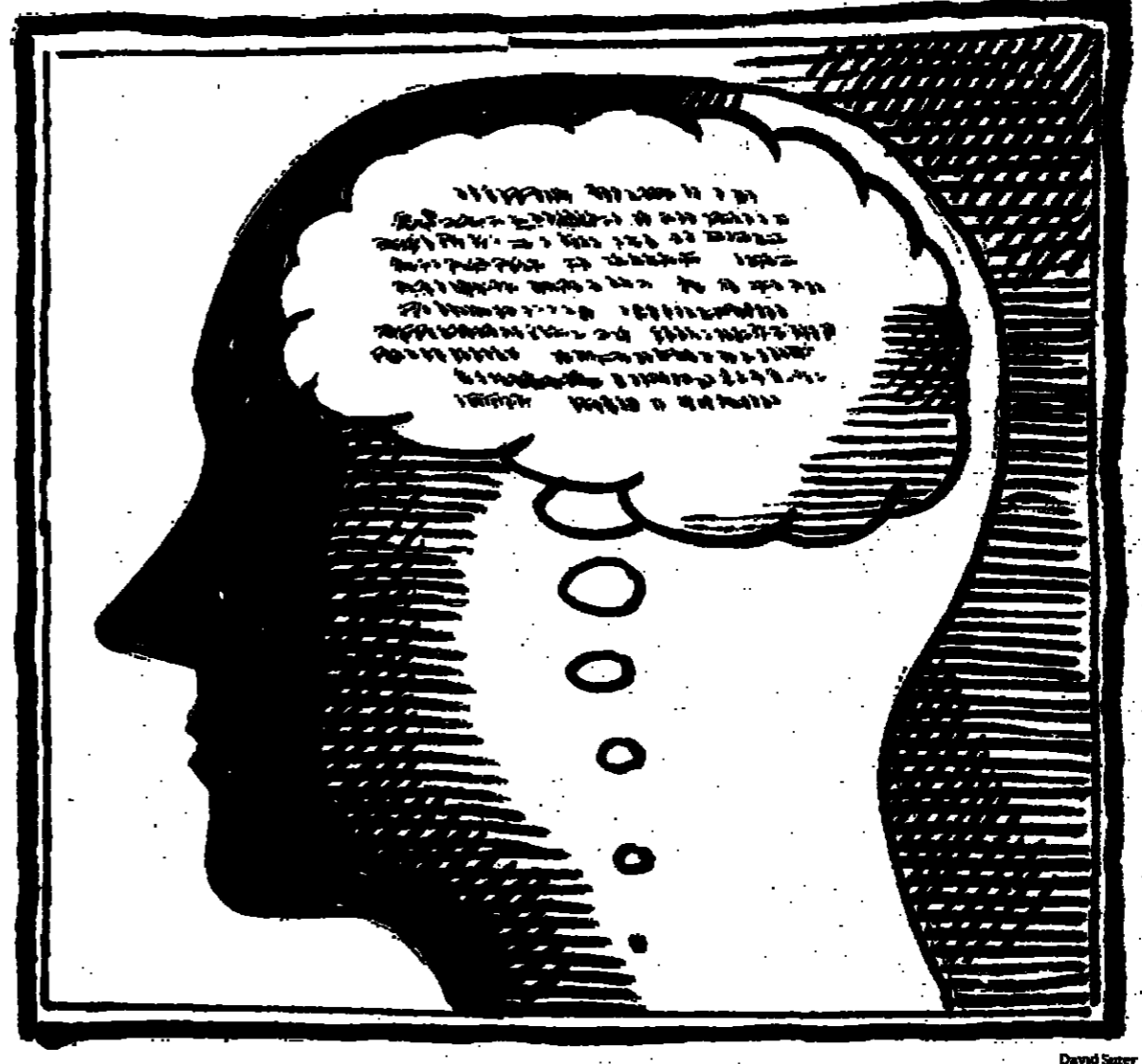
How can it be that changing the way somebody thinks alters the neural wiring? Philosophers tell us that we have trouble fathoming this effect because we so easily fall prey to the old dualist fallacy: that the brain is an incorporeal essence, the celebrated ghost in the cerebral machinery. The key to understanding is to see the mind and brain as inseparable, two ways of looking at the same thing.

Consider what happens during therapy. Sound waves from the doctor's voice send vibrations along the neurons to the brain. There's no reason why these electrochemical oscillations cannot redirect the flow of neurotransmitters the way a manufactured drug does. With the brain thus altered, different signals are sent to the patient's mouth and muscles. Behavior has been changed. The mind is what the brain does — this has become the motto of cognitive science.

But what are the consequences of this idea? If the mind can alter the brain, if people can change their neural pathways just by changing their behavior, then can they accomplish other such neural feats? Can they, for instance, fight off senile dementia by simply exercising their minds? Many scientists have long thought so, but a study of a group of elderly nuns has put a puzzling twist on this possibility.

The researchers wanted to see if nuns who had challenged their mental powers by earning college degrees and by spending their lives teaching would be less likely to get Alzheimer's than nuns who never got past high school and worked at menial tasks around the convent. They were startled to find that there was no significant difference — one group was about as likely to get the disease as the other.

But what perplexed scientists even more was that they could guess, by looking at essays the nuns had



David Saxon

A study of the youthful writings of some elderly nuns puts a twist on theories that behavior can affect the brain's wiring.

a paper published in the Journal of the American Medical Association suggested that a person's cognitive style early in life is a good predictor of the chances of ending up with Alzheimer's disease. And in a report released earlier this month, researchers studied the effects of psychotherapy on patients with obsessive-compulsive disorders — those who, for instance, can't stop washing their hands. The scientists discovered that a technique called behavioral cognitive therapy not only helps some patients psychologically, it actually changes the physical structures of their brains.

In the psychotherapy study, scientists, using a

written more than half a century before (when they were in their 20's) which would later develop Alzheimer's disease. Their guesses were 90 percent accurate. For reasons that no one pretends to understand, the nuns whose sentences were grammatically complex and packed with ideas were less likely to get the disease than those whose prose was simple and bare.

If the finding is borne out by other studies, there are a number of possible explanations. The most depressing possibility is that Alzheimer's begins early on and gradually eats away at the mind. In this scenario the simple prose of the nuns is just a sign that the process had already begun. A second explanation is that the genetic defects that later unleash Alzheimer's might also independently impede early brain develop-

ment. That could be a hopeful development: the existence of early warning signs.

And there is another possibility. Maybe the nuns with more complex linguistic skills were better equipped to fight Alzheimer's when it descended later on because they were used to thinking hard. Whether they were teaching a class or simply working in the convent garden might not have mattered. Whatever their occupation, their inner lives were richer, their thoughts more finely embroidered. Quietly they stretched their brains and minds, scrapping off the plaques, unknotting the neurofibrillary tangles, undoing the damage before it had set in — and showing, once again, that the ghostly thing we call the mind can change the gray machine we call the brain.

Casting 'Primary Colors'

Let Emma Thompson Play Everyone.....

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

FORGET the book "You'll Never Make Love in This Town Again," the recent No. 1 best-seller in Hollywood about the real-life sexual adventures of some call girls and their famous show-biz clients. The town has now shifted its attention to another book, "Primary Colors," by an anonymous but obviously informed novelist, a roman à clef about a libidinous Southern governor's quest for the Presidency, his smart, strong-willed and fiercely ambitious wife and an assortment of associates and competitors who seem very much

Versions abound: Merchant-Ivory posh, Melrose hip and New York (Dianne Wiest).

like the cast of characters in Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign for the Presidency.

A movie is, of course, on the way. Mike Nichols, the director, beat out several competitors and paid about \$1.5 million for the film rights, according to Daily Variety. Now the question facing him is the casting for the film. This town is eager to help.

Cattle Call

Several executives and casting directors pointed out that Mr. Nichols can veer off in several directions: There's "The Masterpiece Theater" or Merchant-Ivory version of the Clinton Presidency; the hip, young "Melrose Place" version; the New York version (anything with Dianne Wiest), and perhaps most interesting, the Democratic or Republican spin.

"Democrats would cast Tom Hanks or Kevin Costner as Clinton, and Emma Thompson or Glenn Close as Hillary," said Eliot Wald, who wrote the Kelsey Grammer comedy, "Down Periscope" and is a former writer for "Saturday Night Live." "Republicans would cast Tom Arnold and Roseanne as Bill and Hillary."

Marshall Brickman, the writer-director, said he was going to tell Mr. Nichols that only Meryl Streep should play Mrs. Clinton. This conviction is based solely on Ms. Streep's performance in "The River Wild," where she heroically navigated rapids. Mr. Brickman said, "We know Meryl can go through white water and come out unhurt."

Andrea King, a screenwriter and former journalist, disagreed. "Madonna!" she said. "She's the one woman who is more besieged, tougher and has had more hairstyles than Hillary. And after she finishes 'Evita,' she'll have already played a first lady." (Madonna is now filming the Andrew Lloyd Webber musical.)

In the novel, Bill Clinton is recast as Jack Stanton, who faces bimbo eruptions, draft problems, a tough wife named Susan and an array of political opponents including the indecisive and cunning Governor of New



Bill Clinton in Portland, Ore., during the 1992 campaign. Which movie stars will be chosen for a sendup of Mr. Clinton?

York named Orlando Ozio, who bears a remarkable resemblance to Mario Cuomo. "The Republicans would cast Joe Pesci, a guy who plays evil mobsters, as Ozio," said Mr. Wald. "The Democrats? Al Pacino."

Dumb and Dumber

By all accounts, the most sought-after and sexy role is the Gennifer Flowers part, named Cashmere McLeod. Many names are mentioned: Melanie Griffith ("Nobody plays dumb better than Melanie," said one casting director); Patrick Swayze (so attractive as a woman in "To Wong Foo..."); anyone from "Baywatch" and various actresses whose first names are Heather and Jennifer (like Aniston and Jason-Leigh).

"You need somebody who can play marvelously cheap," said Larry Gelbart, who wrote "Tootsie." He added, "There's Anna Nicole Smith, before she went to pieces. But I think Pamela Anderson should get the part. The question is whether she can talk and swim at the same time." Ms. Smith, who has been in tabloid headlines hinting at pill overdoses, is a former Playboy model. Ms. Anderson stars in "Baywatch."

Most stars enjoy playing cheap, loud, crazy foul-mouthed women, shoo-ins for an Academy Award nomination. (Three wom-

en who play prostitutes have been nominated this year.) So Ms. Streep ("She can play anything," everyone said) and Susan Sarandon (who just played a nun in "Dead Man Walking") will probably seek the part. So will Emma Thompson.

Ms. Thompson is mentioned for any number of parts, especially the upscale "Masterpiece Theater" or Merchant-Ivory version of "Primary Colors." Michael Shamberg, a producer of "Get Shorty," said this version would be unashamedly elegant — Anthony Hopkins as the President, Ms. Thompson as the First Lady or Cashmere ("She can play anything," he said), Hugh Grant as a character who resembles the Clinton adviser George Stephanopoulos except for one crucial thing (about which more later), John Malkovich as the James Carville character, Ian McKellen as the Hamlet-like New York Governor. Hugh Grant and Warren Beatty are also mentioned for the Clinton role.

One question for Mr. Nichols is whether to be true to the book or to real life. Take the Stephanopoulos-like character, Henry Burton, the narrator. Henry Burton is black. Michael Fox, who is not black, seems to be a consensus candidate for the role, largely because he's short (like Mr. Stephanopoulos, who also isn't black) and played the

same part in "The American President."

Some say the protagonist's race was less important than his height. If Mr. Nichols wanted to be true to the book, they said, he should cast Will Smith or Spike Lee. Darryl DeVito was also mentioned for this role or, better yet, for the Republican version as Bill Clinton.

Eddie Vedder and the Snoop

But one producer insisted on Jonathan Taylor Thomas, the teen-age actor from "Home Improvement," who is wildly popular among pubescent girls, for the Stephanopoulos part. Sure, it's improbable casting, but then didn't Demi Moore recently play Hester in "The Scarlet Letter"?

"I want Mike to have a hit," said Joel Schumacher, the director of "Batman Forever." "He's got to go young and hip. Jim Carrey as Clinton. Alicia Silverstone as Hillary. James Carville? Brad Pitt. Songs by Eddie Vedder and Snoop Doggy Dogg."

But Mr. Brickman offered the most interesting bit of casting. "Cast Clinton as the President," he said. "Where is Mike Ovitz now that we need him to get Clinton cast in the part?"

Mr. Brickman paused. "Actually, is Clinton right for the part?"

Meet My Favorite Martian

Continued from page 1

Lowell, memories of science-fiction Martians — compelled them to look again for humanity's imaginary playmate. The first flights in the 1960's were disillusioning, and two Viking spacecraft in 1976 landed there and could find no unambiguous evidence for life on the surface.

The visitor from Mars today is no more than a figure of speech, reminding us of how we might appear to others with fresh eyes. We probably know enough already not to relish such an appraisal. Yet something in the only child keeps searching.

Scientists have not given up on Mars. Two small American spacecraft are to head there late this year. In the next decade or so, the United States, Europe, Russia and Japan are planning as many as 20 missions to Mars. They will be looking for water and possible microbial life, or at least fossils revealing that life once existed there — a transcendent discovery in itself. It could be that simple forms of life arose on Mars earlier than on Earth, but were

The human race is searching for a playmate.

forced to retreat to the planet's interior for warmth and sustaining moisture where, perhaps, they still survive.

Scientists have found life flourishing on Earth, on icecaps, hot springs and deep ocean vents, under conditions presumably less hospitable than those on Mars. They have also determined that liquid water must have been abundant on Mars at the beginning and probably still is, below the surface. Which is where future robotic craft will be seeking signs of life.

Regardless of what the life-seekers find, people in the next century will almost surely travel there themselves. Someday they may colonize the planet, in effect becoming the Martians they often dream of.

If there is no Martian life, then what of the three new planets recently detected around faraway solar-type stars? At least one of them, astronomers say, could have liquid water; essential to life as it is known on Earth and presumably elsewhere. If not there, what of the planets of the hundreds of billions of stars in the 90 billion galaxies now estimated to comprise the universe? Worlds enough, perhaps, for cosmic companionship.

هكواضن الاصل

The Nation

Abortion: the Rate Vs. the Debate

REPUBLICAN voters leaving polling places in New Hampshire on Tuesday were asked which one of seven campaign issues mattered the most to them. Two-thirds of the voters responded with the economy, taxes or the deficit. But the top social issue was abortion, cited more frequently than education, trade or the environment. And of the 9 percent of New Hampshire Republicans who said that abortion was the issue that mattered the most, 60 percent voted for Patrick J. Buchanan.

On Friday, Mr. Buchanan promised he would end abortions if elected President, guaranteeing that the subject will loom large in the campaign.

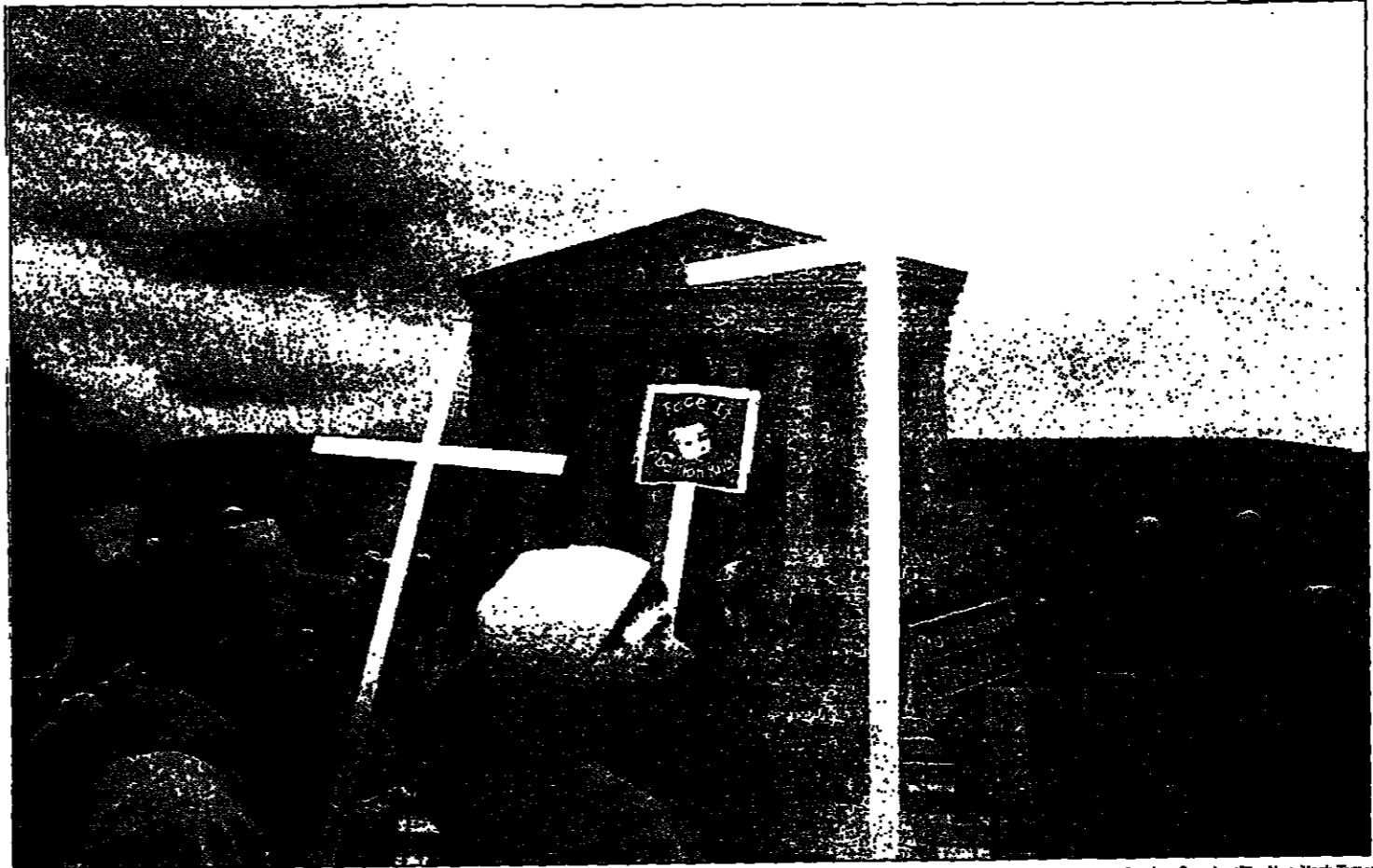
But while a woman's right to an abortion is being debated, the rate and number of abortions are falling. The rate of abortions per 100 births has fallen an average 1.5 percent a year

since 1983. Even the total number of abortions dropped a bit in the early 1990's, after holding steady for a decade.

Some of the decline can be traced to the demographic dominance of the baby boomers. The population of women in their childbearing years grew rapidly through the mid 1980's, then leveled off. AIDS has helped lower the abortion rate, because more couples are using condoms.

Escalating demonstrations by anti-abortion groups have also changed things — not attitudes on when abortion should be allowed (those have remained steady for decades), but in intimidating women who want abortions and the doctors who perform them. Now, in parts of the United States, it is not unusual to have to drive more than 100 miles to get an abortion.

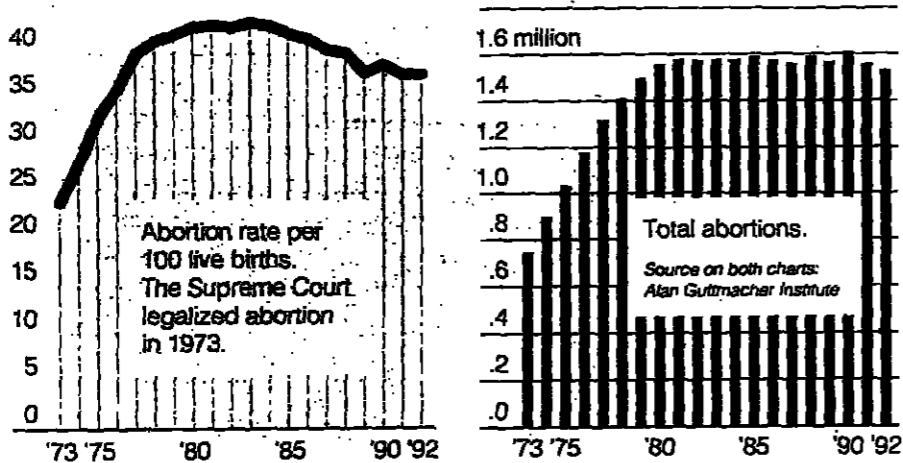
ANNE CRONIN



Anti-abortion protesters demonstrating in front of the Supreme Court in January 1995.

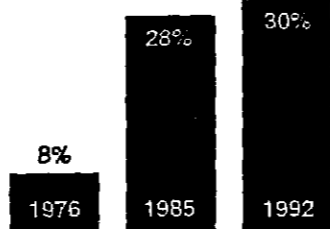
Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

The Number of Abortions Is Ebbing...

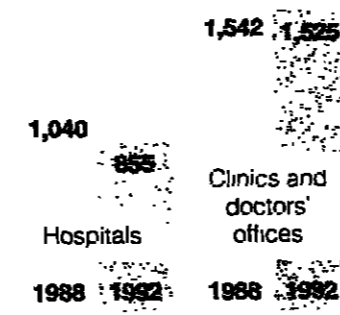


It Is Harder to Get an Abortion...

Fewer Doctors Are Trained...
Percentage of obstetric and gynecology residency programs in the United States that do not train doctors to perform a first-trimester abortion.

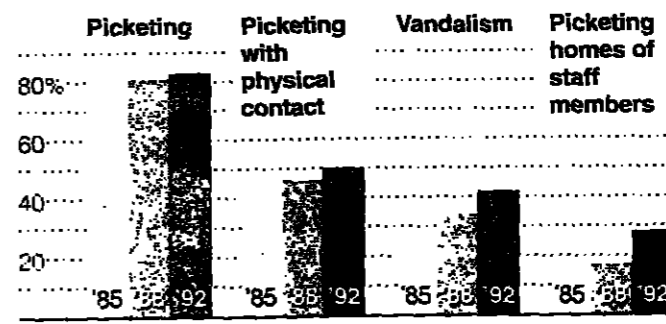


... And Fewer Hospitals Perform Abortions
Total number of abortion providers nationwide.

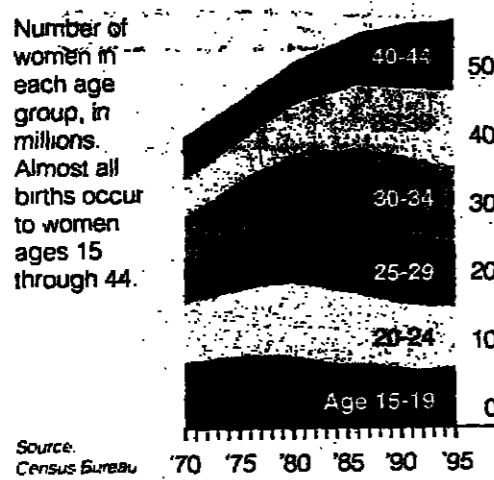


Clinics Face More Threats

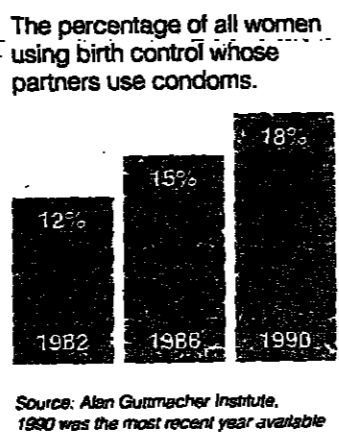
Percentage of all clinics and doctors' offices that performed 400 or more abortions in 1992 reporting each type of harassment.



... As the Population Ages...

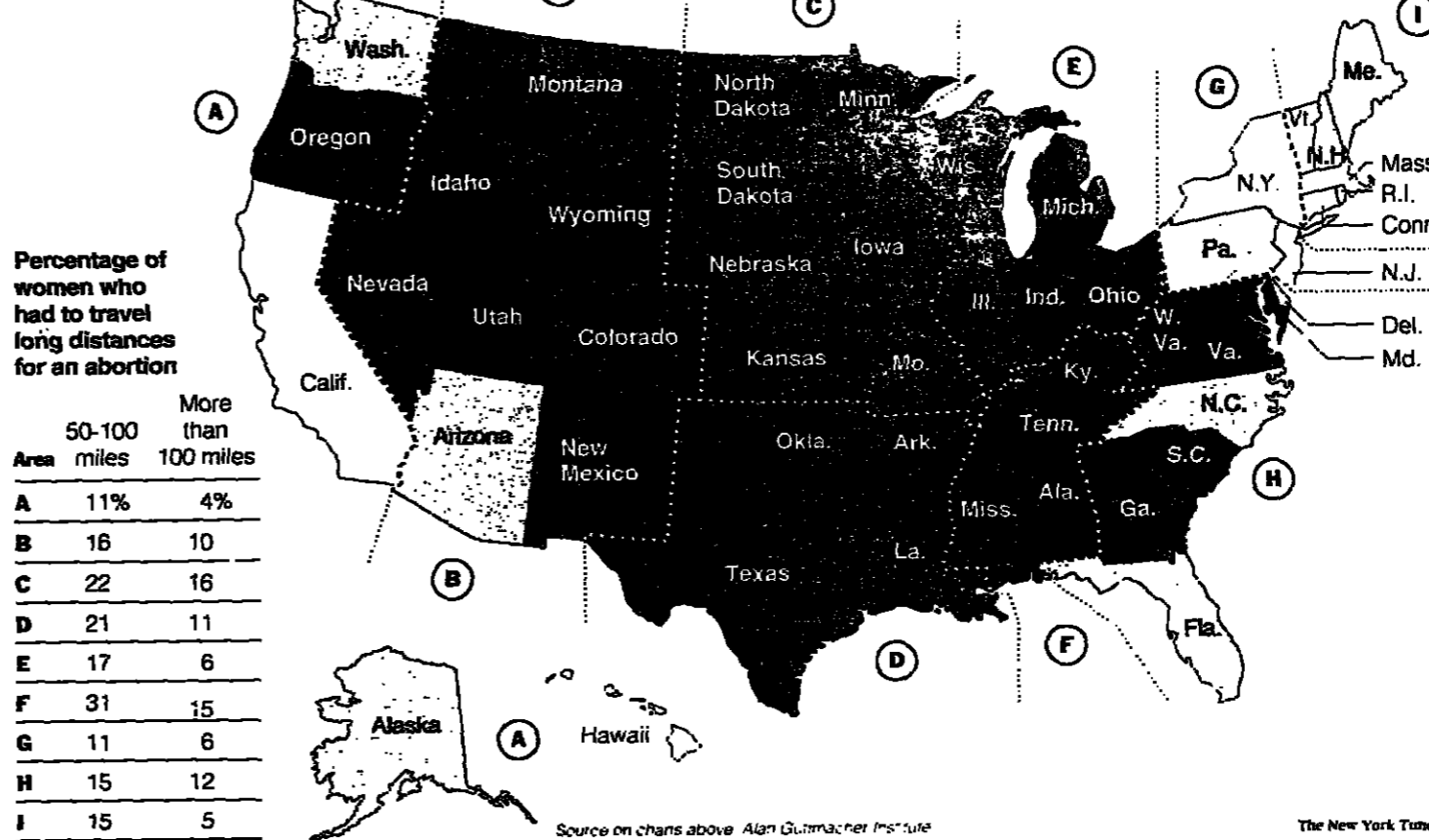


... And Condom Use Has Increased



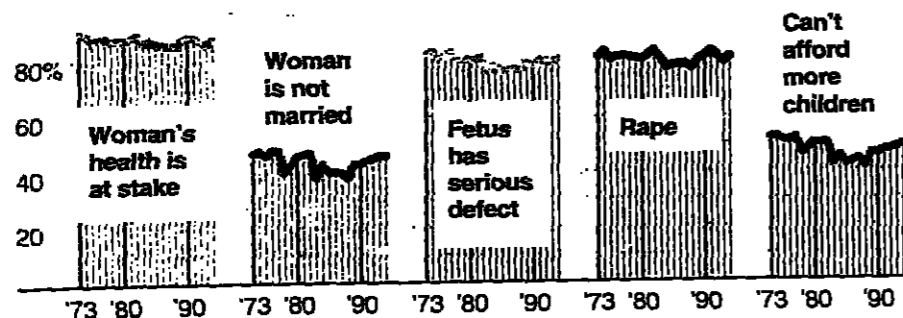
... And It Sometimes Requires a Long Trip

Percentage of each state's counties that had an abortion provider in 1992, and the percentages of women that had to drive 50 miles or more to get an abortion in each area.



Attitudes on Abortion Are Largely Unchanged

Percentages of people who thought a legal abortion should be available under each circumstance.



Republicans' Libertarian Streak Is Now a Blur

Continued from page 1

Equal Rights Amendment and inserted an implacably anti-abortion provision that exists to this day.

Like most broad political coalitions, this one was delicate; for example, it assumed that the economic conservatives would never grow so uneasy with the party's social agenda that they would leave over it, and the social conservatives vice versa. But the Republicans managed this coalition brilliantly during the Reagan heyday, with the President's golden vision of a buoyant economy, a muscular policy abroad and a return to traditional values at home.

As Senator Olympia Snowe, a Republican moderate from Maine, said of Mr. Reagan: "He didn't drive a heavy social agenda. That wasn't front and center of what he was all about. He drove an economic agenda and an optimistic view about the potential of America."

This coalition was also artfully managed in the 1994 Congressional elections. Grover Norquist, an adviser to the House Speaker, Newt Gingrich, described that election as a triumph of the "leave us alone" alliance. "They are people who want to be left alone by government — gun owners, taxpayers, property owners, home schoolers, private schoolers." Yet as Mr. Norquist acknowledges, on some issues some social conservatives want the Government to do more than leave them

A Senator looks back to the coalition steered by Reagan: 'He didn't drive a heavy social agenda.'

alone; they want it to promote a set of values.

Not surprisingly, these tensions came to the fore once the Republicans were actually running the Government, notably during the debate over welfare legislation. Many Republicans wanted to simply convert the welfare programs to block grants, or lump sums of money, and turn them over to the states. But the influence of the social conservatives was strong, and the net result was a host of conditions and provisos intended to accomplish an array of social ends, from reducing illegitimate births to discouraging the growth of families already on welfare.

These tensions erupted after the 1992 convention, which was dominated by the theme of "family values" and featured Mr. Buchanan's famous declaration that a "religious and cultural war" was under way in this

country. Many moderate Republicans found the convention divisive and exclusionary, and said so.

Still, Marshall Wittman, former legislative director for the Christian Coalition, and now an analyst at the Heritage Foundation, argues that there actually has been a real fusion in the past few years between the libertarian and social conservative strains in the party. "Most social conservatives are fearful of state intervention because they believe the state will enforce values they don't hold," Mr. Wittman maintained.

This happy fusion, though, is not in evidence in the Republican Presidential campaign — or perhaps it's a fusion of a different sort. Many conservatives have been horrified not by Mr. Buchanan's social positions, but because of his economics, which to economic conservatives sound like the protectionist, corporate-bashing program of a traditional Democrat.

Diverging on the Economy

Mr. Kohut, the pollster, says that may be no accident. There is no reason why social conservatives should not make themselves felt on economics, or have economic interests quite different from more affluent, pro-business Republicans, he suggests.

"In drawing in the social conservatives, Republicans brought onto that side of the political spectrum a

Yes, social conservatives do have economic interests quite different from affluent, pro-business Republicans.

lot of people who worry about jobs and health insurance," he said. "They bring their economic attitudes and discontents, and linked to this is a mistrustfulness of big corporations. We used to find it with old New Deal Democrats, now it's with the moralist Republicans."

The Republican coalition, in short, looked rather volatile in the aftermath of New Hampshire. "The failure of the presidential race so far is that no candidate has been able to weave together the different strains of Republican Party belief into a package," said William Kristol, a Republican strategist. "Reagan in '80 and Gingrich in '94 were able to more or less tie the strains together into a coherent package."

Mr. Kristol says he finds himself reading a lot lately about a past master at coalition building — Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The World

Neighbors Knock. Germany Makes Them Wait.

By ALAN COWELL

FOR centuries, Central Europe was caught between, and fought over by, outsiders like Russians and Germans. The Poles, the Czechs, the Balkan Slavs, all lived in a vacuum that one or another great power seemed always destined to fill.

But now, having broken loose from Russia's grip, the whole region finds itself curiously alone: seeking the prosperity and security that only Western Europe can offer but being told to wait.

And why? Of all reasons, Germany. Germany, this time, is skittish about any rapid expansion of Western power toward the East.

With Russia perilously unstable and the Germans hamstrung by fear of invoking the horrors of their past, it is the Central Europeans themselves who, virtually alone, are clamoring for a new protector and patron.

This Way to Europe

"For the Czechs," said Jiri Pebe, a political analyst here, "all roads to Europe lead through Germany." What the Central Europeans want, of course, is to join the united West. They want entry to NATO and to the economic privileges of the European Union.

But they cannot do this without enthusiasm from

Central Europe join the West? Bonn might leap at the chance. But, no.

Germany. It is the economic pillar of Europe, and it is the frontier state among the NATO allies.

So its inability to bankroll the East and its reluctance to frighten Russia by expanding NATO are among the top reasons that Central Europe has been left knocking at Western Europe's door for five years.

It is true that the reunited Germany needs a prosperous cordon of secure eastern neighbors. Without it Germany will remain the uncomfortable front line between the prosperous West and a struggling, potentially unstable East. But in the last five years, Germany has shown itself unwilling to redeem its promises of support to the Central Europeans with decisive actions. And this is what leaves them feeling so vulnerable.

"For so long we were in the middle," said Jiri Grusa, the Czech Republic's Ambassador to Germany. "Now we want to be part of Western Europe. The danger lies in a vacuum."

The dangers of ethnic fissures and economic stag-

nation in the region are being felt now in Germany itself: Romanians have organized huge criminal gangs that have blasted into German post offices and carried off the booty to the forests; the chaos in the former Yugoslavia prompted Bonn to try its own clumsy hand at diplomacy there, but this seemed to worsen the chaos. Now there are 350,000 Balkan refugees in Germany — a financial drain and the makings of an underclass of dispossessed foreigners.

So Germany is in a curious position. Fearful of rekindling memories of the Nazi era, it shies from leadership, seeing its future locked into a broader community of nations. But as Europe's wealthiest, most populous and most powerful nation, it has the most at stake in the future of Central Europe. Only by broadening the European Union can Bonn relinquish its uncomfortable position on the frontier between Western Europe's haves and Eastern Europe's have-lesses.

A Problem of Details

The Germans have promised some support to the Central Europeans, backed by trade and investment. But they have clear favorites — Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and, to a lesser extent, Slovakia. And in any event, the idea of expanding the 15-nation European Union collides with endless questions.

How will the Central Europeans, already competing among themselves for Western Europe's favors,

achieve equality of membership with an economic grouping whose living standards are three times higher? Who will persuade Spain and Greece to share access to the Union's agricultural grants? If Germany is having difficulty meeting the criteria for a common currency, how will the Central Europeans fare?

One thing is clear: Even if Germany were disposed to spend it, money alone wouldn't provide the answer. Just consider Germany's reunification, and how even \$500 billion has not instantly repaired the social and economic ravages of Communist central planning.

NATO's expansion is even trickier. For one thing, the Central European states are burdened by ethnic and border disputes; NATO does not need any more rifts like that between Greece and Turkey, and Germany itself has yet to heal wounds with Prague that date from World War II. There are practical issues like how to convert Central European armies to Western military doctrine.

And towering over all these concerns is the relationship with Russia, where the last thing Chancellor Helmut Kohl wants to do is to undermine President Boris Yeltsin before the June elections.

The "special relationship" between Russia and NATO, Mr. Kohl said recently, would become "the core of the architecture of future European security."

That leaves the Central Europeans uneasily in the middle — hostage, as ever, to the ties that bind larger forces to the West and East.

Why the Party Isn't Stopping Buchanan



Dole had the organization: a campaign office in Concord, N.H.

Continued from page 1

it are supposed to be as essential to politics as helium to a balloon. Yet Phil Gramm's stuffed war chest did not even get him to New Hampshire. Mr. Dole and Steve Forbes, who have plenty of money and plenty of advertising, have been stumbling, and Mr. Buchanan, short of both, has been running like a mad moose.

The Contract With America, a balanced budget, the capital gains tax cut — those were supposed to be the big issues this year, yet they were scarcely mentioned in Iowa and New Hampshire. It is as if the Presidential campaign were stuck in some electoral Bermuda triangle where no one has heard anything about the "revolution" of 1994.

Half a century ago, party bosses controlled the money. Play ball, or they cut it off. But every candidate raises his or her own money nowadays, and it comes not only from fat cats but from little cats, too. Ideologically driven candidates like Mr. Buchanan can pull in hundreds of thousands of dollars with direct mail solicitations, bypassing political action committees, and Federal matching funds make their job easier. Mr. Buchanan, furthermore, runs a miserly operation, with his sister Angela as campaign manager and himself as media strategist. In this war, he is Ho Chi Minh and Mr. Dole is William C. Westmoreland.

Clout Is Out

Half a century ago, party bosses chose most of the delegates to the national convention in most of the states. Only a few states had Presidential primaries, and the vast majority of delegates were not bound by the wishes of the electorate. Most were the bosses' private armies, to be committed to battle at a crucial moment in return for the spoils of war, allotted after the fight for the White House had been won.

Now, though party rules vary from state to state, the vast majority of delegates are obligated to vote at least on the first ballot for the candidate who carried the delegate's state or district, as long as that candidate is still in the race. Only if a delegate runs "uncommitted" or pledged to a favorite son does this not apply, and these ploys are usually unsuccessful. None of the popular Republican governors — Bush of Texas, Voynovich of Ohio, Engler of Michigan, Whitman of New Jersey — is running as a favorite son now.

Half a century ago, most voters held tight to their party loyalties, passing them down from generation

to generation. Now the independent is king. That makes it dangerous for the regulars to attack Mr. Buchanan or ignore his issues, because the party will need his followers in November. He knows it. He said last week: "I can't bring my people back into the Republican Party if their leader is under constant attack and assault." Unless his opponents stop assailing him as an extremist, he implied, unless the party speaks to his supporters, they will stay home, vote Democratic or support a third-party candidate — perhaps Ross Perot, perhaps Mr. Buchanan himself.

A Modest Proposal

So what can they do, the establishmentarians? Just wait and hope?

The most obvious strategy is to try to concentrate the anti-Buchanan vote, which at the moment amounts to roughly two-thirds of the total, before Mr. Buchanan gets even stronger. Hence the reciprocal and so far futile efforts by Mr. Dole and Lamar Alexander, who finished third in both Iowa and New Hampshire, to get the other to step aside. Hence also the efforts of Mr. Dole and others to talk Senator Richard G. Lugar of Indiana out of the race ("if one of us would get out," Mr. Dole explained helpfully, "the other would get more votes"). Mr. Lugar has not budged, though he will probably find his money running out soon.

If that doesn't work, the Buchanophobes in the party are saying, then a deadlocked convention is their best hope. When nobody gets the 996 votes needed for nomination on the first or second ballot, they theorize, then the great and the good will assemble in a smoke-free room, negotiate and announce that they have a compromise candidate — Colin Powell? Dick Cheney? Jack Kemp? — who is then nominated by acclamation.


Recurring Fantasy

The deadlocked convention is a mirage on the horizon at about this time in many years' divisible by four. Remember the "seven dwarfs" of the 1992 Democratic primaries, and the hand-wringing about Paul Tsongas and Bill Clinton, the purportedly unelectable one-two finishers in New Hampshire? One of them is President now, and the odds are overwhelming that one of the eight men still seeking it is going to win the Republican nomination in the primaries this year.

If Pat Buchanan is to be stopped, in short, it will have to be Bob Dole, Lamar Alexander, Steve Forbes and company who do the stopping.

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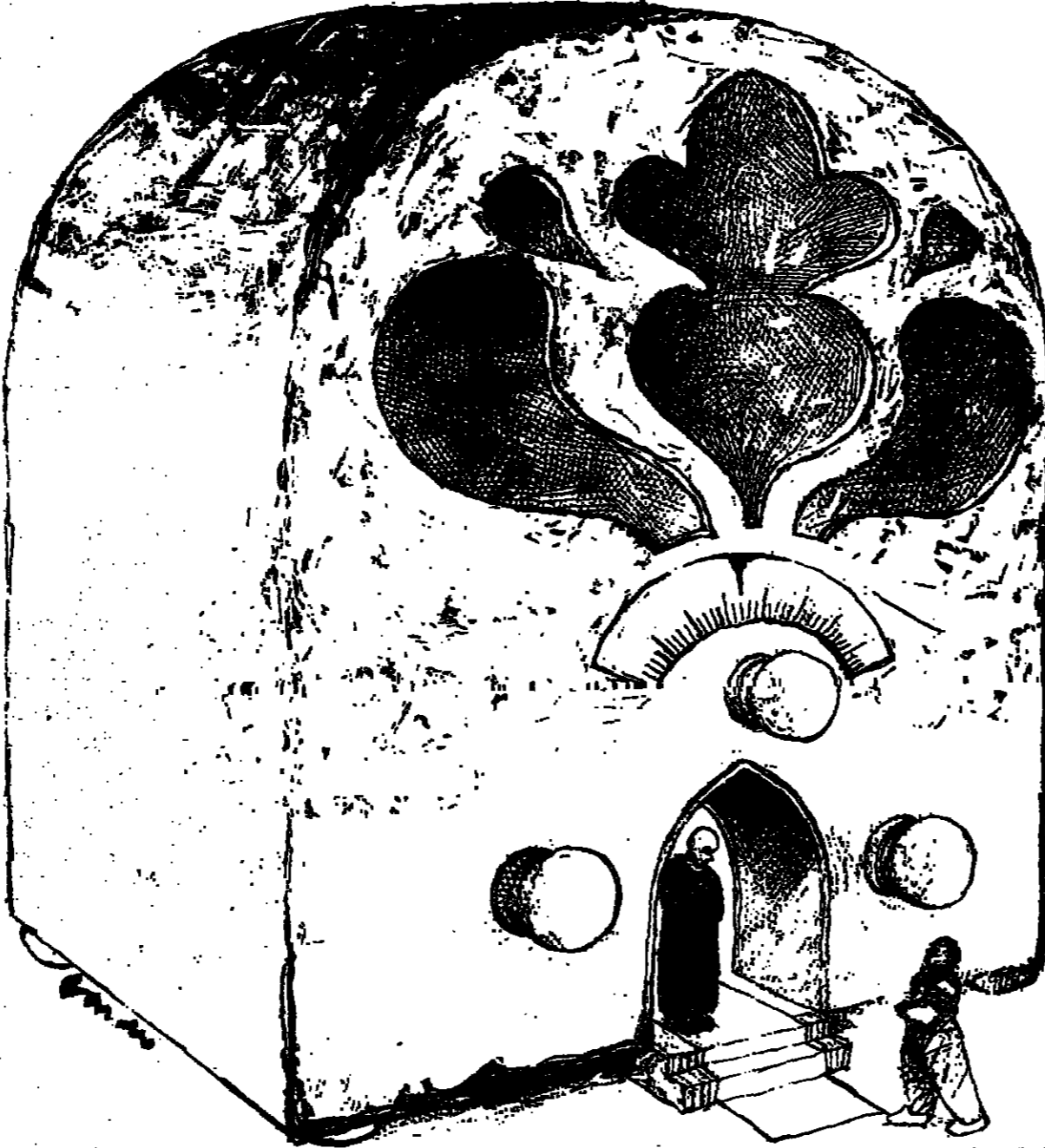
THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Japan Inc. Revisited

TOKYO
I found the source of our trade problems with Japan.
I went shopping at the Mitsukoshi Department store, the Bloomingdale's of Tokyo, and when I walked in the front door I counted 14 sales clerks in the jewelry department alone. They bowed politely and offered to help with any purchases. The American in me, immediately said: "What a waste of labor! Who needs 14 sales clerks? This store needs downsizing immediately!" But that is not the Japanese instinct. And that's one reason why we have a structural trade deficit with Japan.
Let me explain: Unlike America or Western Europe, Japan long ago decided that its top priority was not to have the lowest prices for its consumers, not to have the highest dividends for its corporate shareholders, but to keep as many of its people (particularly the men) employed in decent paying jobs — preferably for a lifetime with the same firm. The Japanese understand that a job gives dignity and stability to people's lives and pays off in much greater social harmony. Just walk the streets of Tokyo: few homeless sleeping on grates, no muggers lurking in the shadows.
But to maintain such high levels of employment, to keep 14 clerks behind one store counter, Japan basically had to fix the game. Japan had to regulate its economy in a way that would protect its domestic companies from foreign competition, by controlling access to its markets. That way Japanese companies could maintain a dual price system. They could charge high prices at home, in a protected market, in order to maintain full employment, while charging lower prices abroad in order to get into everyone else's market and export like crazy. That is why those who think that Japan's trade barriers will easily give way, or that its economy will be "deregulated" as its Prime Minister keeps promising, are fooling themselves.
Many economists argue that in an integrated global economy, Japan will have to become more like America. Its corporations will have to cut costs and downsize to remain globally competitive. Maybe. But for now, the Japanese are resisting that. Despite five years of zero growth,

Fourteen bowing clerks.

Japan still has only 3.2 percent unemployment. The sort of job massacres that have become the norm in America — like 40,000 workers at AT&T in one chop — have been unheard of here. "I am sure that eventually we will be somewhat forced to think American, but we are moving very slowly in that direction," says Yotaro Kobayashi, the chairman of Fuji Xerox. "For social and moral reasons, we will try to avoid going all the way to a U.S. model. We will look for a middle ground."
How? In part it will be by trying to maintain hidden trade barriers. But in part it will be by trying to maintain Japan's unique corporate values. For Japanese executives, says Glen Fukushima, vice president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, "laying off employees is the last option they look for, not the first." And far from being rewarded for layoffs, corporate executives here are censured for them, by both peers and the press. The first priority of a Japanese company is its employees, then come its customers and last its shareholders — just the opposite of the U.S. corporate mentality.
Instead of ordering massive layoffs, Japanese companies cut overtime, they freeze hiring college grads, they freeze dividends, they offer early retirement packages, they shift workers to subsidiary companies, they shift low-skilled jobs to cheaper labor markets in Asia and keep the best jobs here, they inhibit mergers and acquisitions that lead to layoffs, they buy up U.S. high-tech companies to maintain the competitive edge that their own regulated economy sometimes stifles and they even (are you ready?) order pay cuts for top executives — anything but lay off people.
That's why Pat Buchanan is only partly right. Yes, American workers are being hurt by unfair trade barriers erected by some foreign countries, including Japan, and the U.S. should fight hard to bring those barriers down. But U.S. workers are being hurt just as much, if not more, by the skewed sense of priorities that now dominates the U.S. business community, where executives get bonuses for massaging their employees. Maybe the economists are right. The Japanese will have to become like us. But they are sure trying not to, and it's worth watching to see if they can pull it off. This is one economic war I'm rooting for Japan to win.



The Father Coughlin of 1996

By Samuel G. Freedman

At 3 o'clock every Sunday afternoon in the early 1930's, an unemployed teamster named Edward Garrett quieted his family in their Manhattan tenement. He settled into his recliner, lit a Camel and tuned his Philco radio to WCBS. Dinner would wait until after the weekly sermon by Father Charles Coughlin, the "radio priest" who gave voice to all the unspoken rage and anxiety in Edward.
Even before the Depression had begun, the construction company that employed Mr. Garrett had gone bankrupt, the owner having poured his savings into Al Smith's failed campaign for the Presidency. The Garretts' landlord, taking pity, hired Edward as a chauffeur. But then came Black Friday and economic calamity, and as the landlord's tenants defaulted on the rent the landlord let Edward go.
By the time Herbert Hoover was running for re-election in 1932, Edward Garrett had four children younger than 13 and no way to support them other than through his wife Lizzie's intermittent work as a domestic. The family lost even its tenement, and moved onto a patch of land outside Ossining, N.Y., where they built a rudimentary home. There were days when Edward Garrett walked 15 miles to White Plains looking for work, unable to afford the bus fare of 35 cents. But the only job he ever found was sweeping snow from the tracks of the New York Central.
It was no wonder, then, that Edward tuned into Father Coughlin with a regularity bordering on reverence. When Father Coughlin attacked high finance and big industry, he was speaking directly to Edward's predicament. When he argued that America was suffering

Buchanan's message sounds a lot like the radio priest's.

from a "cursed famine of currency money which blights our progress and which multiplies starvation," he was conflating the Great Hunger of Edward's Irish forebears with the Great Depression of Edward's own life.
Now, more than 60 years later, I can envision the contemporary version of Edward Garrett. Laid off from a textile mill that sent his job to the third world, he silently smolders as he watches CNN. On primary day, he votes for Patrick Buchanan.
In the past few weeks, Mr. Buchanan has been compared to everyone from Jesse Jackson to Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. But rather than railing against Mr. Buchanan as a bigot or xenophobe or gremlin on the Republican Party's extreme right wing, it

might be better to find the lesson in his appeal to voters.
The most instructive parallel may be Father Coughlin. Not only does Mr. Buchanan embody the Roman Catholicism and America First credo of Father Coughlin, he also, most importantly, has built his "conservatism with a heart" around "Rerum Novarum," the same papal encyclical at the core of Father Coughlin's advocacy of workers' rights.
The document, issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1891, argued that workers, as people of God, had a moral right to a living wage and to a voice in the workplace. One could hear echoes of "Rerum Novarum" in 1919, when America's Catholic bishops endorsed unemployment insurance, a minimum wage and labor laws protecting children.
One could hear the echoes in the 1920's when Al Smith, one of labor's champions, described unchecked capitalism as "the caveman's law, the law of the sharpest tooth, the angriest brow, and the greediest maw."
So the radio priest to whom Edward Garrett listened in the early 1930's was not the Father Coughlin we have come to remember — the anti-Semite, the enemy of Franklin D. Roosevelt. No, during the Presidential campaign of 1932, Father Coughlin articulated exactly the discontents that Roosevelt sought to address. And when the new President took office and launched the New Deal, Father Coughlin adopted such slogans as "The New Deal is Christ's Deal" and "Roosevelt or Ruin!"
Edward Garrett voted for Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. A few years later, he found a job with the President's Works Progress Administration, building roads and doing construction. All around Ossining, he could see the W.P.A. at work: the artist painting a Hudson River scene on the post office wall, the crew rebuilding an elementary school so run-down it was called the "chicken coop," the man inspecting grave-stones to prepare a master list of Westchester County's war veterans.
When Father Coughlin parted ways with President Roosevelt, depicting the New Deal as a Socialist threat to America and singling Jews out for the blame, Edward Garrett did not follow him. He tuned his radio to the President's fireside chats, and he and his descendants voted Democratic for the next half-century.
Who is to say where Edward might have ended up politically had not President Roosevelt understood the distress that afflicted Coughlin's audience and answered it concretely. The Buchanan boom reflects nothing so much as the failure of both heart and intellect on the part of his Republican opponents and the incumbent President.
How ironic it is that Mr. Buchanan speaks by default for the working-class voter. As a speech writer for President Ronald Reagan, he fit in comfortably with an Administration that broke a strike by the air traffic controllers' union and opposed legislation that would have warned workers about impending plant closings. He did not noticeably object when corporate capital — and jobs — fled from union strongholds in the Rust Belt to right-to-work states, maquiladoras within our own borders. He has insisted that raising the mini-

mum wage is not vital to improving the lot of American workers.
But rather than pick away at Mr. Buchanan's record, we might better ask what Mr. Buchanan's Republican opponents and President Clinton can offer as an alternative to tariffs and nationalism. All we have heard is the Panglossian forecast that the rising tide of global trade will lift all boats, and some lip service about retraining workers. It all brings to mind Herbert Hoover, the man Edward Garrett voted against.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

George, Begone!

WASHINGTON
I needed a break from politics. I wanted to see some explosions not caused by Pat Buchanan.
I went to the new John Travolta movie, "Broken Arrow," about a psycho military pilot who crashes a jet into the Utah desert to steal some nuclear weapons.
We were only a few fireballs into the plot when I saw George.
This time, he was named Giles. Giles Prentice.
But it was George Stephanopoulos, all right. Baby face. Snub nose. Floppy dark hair. Elfin figure. Worried look.
Giles Prentice (played by Frank Whalley) is a deputy White House chief of staff who objects when his boss and the Pentagon brass want to cover up the crisis. When Christian Slater, playing a heroic pilot, dismisses the young White House aide as a buttoned-up wimp, Giles spurs: "Just for the record, I'm not exactly a civilian. I was a lieutenant, in the R.O.T.C. At Yale."
Lately, I feel as if I just can't get away from George Stephanopoulos. He is not so high profile in the capital any more, although a Washington Post story last week did refer to him as "senior White House aide and teen idol." It is the President's bi-political strategist, Dick Morris, who has been making news, giving secret advice to the Dole campaign and scrapping with liberal rival Harold Ickes about the mini-bar charges on Mr. Morris's hotel room.
But in the collective unconscious, Mr. Stephanopoulos still looms large. He has become a stock character in books and movies, a variation on Jean Arthur's girl Friday character in political movies of the 30's.
Mr. Stephanopoulos played himself in "The War Room," with dialogue better than that of his analogues. "If you went on the radio and said Bill Clinton is the father of an illegitimate black child, you would be laughed at," he warned a troublemaker. "I guarantee this, you'll never work in Democratic politics again."
In "The American President," he was played by Michael J. Fox, who studied Mr. Stephanopoulos over a couple of dinners and said he based his performance on George and Jimmy Cricket. Charlie Sheen plays "a George Stephanopoulos-like aide" in the upcoming "Shadow Conspiracy," about a Presidential adviser who tries to stop an assassination attempt.
And the 35-year-old is the model for the narrator in the best-selling "Pri-

mary Colors," which Mike Nichols bought for the movies. Anonymous made the idealistic Clinton aide black, but was thinking George. The Hillary character and others "tousle" the moppet's hair.
In "City Hall," John Cusack plays a deputy mayor from Louisiana who's a cross between Mr. Stephanopoulos and James Carville — "a bad DNA mix," as a White House friend of theirs notes. (Mr. Carville, who also has more free time now that Dick Morris has ascended, just filmed a role as a prosecutor in a new movie about hustler publisher Larry Flynt.)
I called Mr. Stephanopoulos to tell him I was sick of spending my spare time with him.
"I went to 'Broken Arrow' and said, 'Look, it's me, again,'" he agreed, laughing. "I must say I've never stood up in the Situation Room and dressed down 14 generals. I just wish I had the

No escaping this guy Friday.

copyright on myself and a Swiss bank account for all the royalties."
I asked Paul Rudnick, the screenwriter and playwright, about the proliferation of George.
"He's the Fabian of the White House, the Jimmy Olsen, a cub or cadet or junior achiever and that makes him endearing," Mr. Rudnick said. "And no one is quite sure what his job is. He's like the First Publicist, so it's as if he's in show business. Hollywood has difficulty understanding politics in any depth so any time there's a physical aspect that's easily cast, like cuteness, they get it. It's so rare that anyone in politics seems datable. George is like the seventh cast member on 'Friends.'"
Joe Queenan, a movie writer who has had a book on making his own \$7,000 movie, "The Unkindest Cut," does not like the trend. "You want Fred Thompson running the country. You don't want pipsqueaks like Michael J. Fox calling the shots. It's unnerving."
He says he will be glad, movie-wise, if Pat Buchanan gets elected. "Then movies won't have Presidential aides with floppy hair. They'll have skin-heads with eye patches; played by Walken, Malkovich and Hopper." Talk about unnerving.

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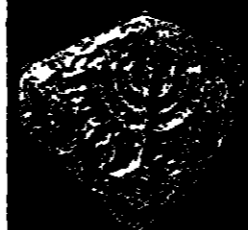
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Samuel G. Freedman is the author of "The Inheritance," a forthcoming book about the political evolution of three working-class families.

דו"ס מן הארץ

New-old Mideast must overcome decades of distrust

In reaching for an analogy to describe the situation in which the Middle East finds itself in the post-Cold War era, Prof. Bernard Lewis last week evoked the Tom and Jerry cartoons in which the fleeing mouse runs off the edge of a cliff but continues to nonchalantly tread air before noticing his predicament and plummeting.

being incorporated into the Middle East, most of them to the sphere of Turkish influence. "We are seeing the emergence of a Turkish world in the sense of which we used to speak of the Arab world," said Lewis. "It is one of the most interesting phenomena of the current period."

Historian Bernard Lewis says the region now has to deal with its problems itself, Abraham Rabinovich reports

such miscalculations there is a price to be paid. Realizing the weakness of their position, said Lewis, the Palestinian leadership had grasped at the Oslo agreements. "I think it was very fortunate that there was at the time a government in Israel which saw this as an opportunity for peace rather than an opportunity for victory. It would have been easy to make the other choice, to take advantage of the utter powerlessness of the adversary. I think it was a statesmanlike choice that made what followed possible."

SUGGESTING THAT the winning of mutual trust would likely be a long process, Lewis noted differences in culture which included an Israeli focus on human rights and an Arab focus on human dignity. There was always the danger, he wryly noted, that Israel might end up adopting Arab notions of human rights while the Arabs adopt the Israeli attitude toward dignity.

noted Lewis, and the country's long existence in a state either of war or war alert. In responding to Lewis's remarks, Prof. Shlomo Avineri of the Hebrew University suggested that the source of this seemingly strange democratic bent lay in synagogue politics. "It is true that people came to Israel mostly from countries without democratic traditions," Avineri said, "but they came with a political culture which [taught them] how to deal with questions of elections, with creating coalitions, with making compromises. This was the tradition of the Jewish community in the Diaspora."

Duckweed: What the world needs now

EARTHLY CONCERNS
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

DUCKWEED is a most unimpressive aquatic plant. It's nothing more than a flat green glob floating on the water, with a dangling clump of thin white hair-like roots. The little plant's Latin name, *Spirodella polyrrhiza* or *Lemna polyrrhiza* are far more imposing than the plant itself which, in Hebrew, is called *spirodella rabat-shorashim*. But in its importance to the environment, it really is impressive. In fact it seems to be one of the two most efficient plants for cleaning up sewage effluents.

As world populations burgeon, particularly in the cities, the streams of sewage water are swelling to a point where experts fear that soon conventional sewage treatment will not be able to handle the load. These high-tech systems depend on thousands of miles of collection pipes and channels, emergency outlets, gigantic processing tanks, turbine engines and a continuous supply of energy. In addition, complex chemical monitoring units process these facilities, each of which handles tens of thousands of cubic meters of wastewater every day.

As technology grows more and more expensive and energy sources become more limited it has become almost impossible to repair or upgrade existing facilities in even wealthy countries, let alone build a new one in a poor country. Yet these millions of liters of sewage water need to be treated before they are returned to the environment. And the water that can be recycled from these systems is a matter of life or death in many places where it is the principal source of water for agriculture.

Experiments show that duckweed can play a vital part in purifying water to the point where it is suitable for growing crops. The raw sewage is first channeled into large ponds for sedimentation where all coarser matter settles at the bottom. This sludge can later be chemically treated for sanitary purposes and used as fertilizer.

The supernatant water is then moved over to a second pond where it is oxygenated. At this point anaerobic organisms (those that live in an airless environment) die off and aerobic bacteria that thrive on oxygen break down a large portion of the organic material in the water. The water then passes into a third pond where it is seeded with duckweed.

From this point on the only things needed are sunlight and air. The floating duckweed reproduces at an amazing rate and soon the entire surface of the water is a carpet of little green leaves. A thumb-sized planting will develop enough new plants to cover six dunams in 55 days under optimal conditions. In fact reproduction is so rapid that there is often a surplus of duckweed which can be raked from the surface and used as a high-quality cattle food.

The water hyacinth is even better at removing nutrients from sewage water. This plant originated in China and was introduced to the US by a returning missionary in the 19th century. It thrived in the southern states and today Florida spends several million dollars a year just to dredge the water hyacinths out of the waterways.

The father of IVF reflects on his years of research

ROBERT EDWARDS is the father of five girls and the surrogate godfather to perhaps thousands of children worldwide. With his colleague Dr. Patrick Steptoe, Edwards pioneered in vitro fertilization, the "test-tube baby" technique that proved itself 17 years ago with the birth of Louise Brown. She was the first child conceived by bringing sperm and egg together in a laboratory.

Louise as if he's told it a thousand times, and he probably has. But when Edwards speaks about chromosomes and egg maturation, his mellow northern English drawl perks up. That's because Edwards was trained as a research scientist, not a physician. He earned a doctorate in genetics from the University of Edinburgh.



Experts at the time thought the in vitro experiments of Dr. Robert Edwards (right) and Dr. Patrick Steptoe to be 'Frankensteinish.'

"People say: 'How did you feel when Louise Brown was born? Was it the most amazing thing in your life?'" Edwards said in an interview at Bourn Hall Clinic, a mansion-turned-fertility-center on the outskirts of Cambridge.

Edwards said he had a hunch that if a human egg could mature outside the body, it would be possible to mate it with a sperm and create an embryo. Other experts thought his ideas were crazy and his experiments Frankensteinish. "There were some who said they [Edwards and Steptoe] should have done more animal experiments," said Dr. Alan DeCherney, former president of the American Society for Reproductive Medicine. "There was a lot of jealousy," DeCherney said. "And others were generally concerned. But it didn't take long for everyone to jump on the bandwagon."

The failures were traced to a drug, a progesterone-like substance. When the dose was lowered, a woman became pregnant. However, it was an ectopic pregnancy, in which the embryo grows outside the womb in the fallopian tube. Ectopic pregnancies must be aborted because they will not fully develop and they endanger the mother.

Despite the setback, Edwards said he was thrilled because it proved it was possible to create a "live, viable fetus."

THE TRUE triumph came in 1977 when Louise Brown's mother had a positive pregnancy test. Edwards was en route to a medical meeting in the Netherlands when he got the good news. It was 13 days after Brown's mother was impregnated with one embryo. Nowadays, most women get three embryos put into their womb to boost the chances of pregnancy.

Enforcing a plea bargain

LAW REPORT
ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Criminal Appeals, before Justices Gavriel Bach, Mishael Cheshin and Dalia Dorner, in the matter of Nadav Nakan, appellant, versus the State of Israel, respondent (Cr.A.6967/94).

Justice Goldberg held the plea bargain could be disregarded if there was a meaningful disparity between the agreed and the appropriate sentence. Justice Mazza ruled the bargain should be honored unless it was based on improper considerations or harmed public welfare. Justice Cheshin held the sentence was the responsibility of the court, which was to take the plea bargain into account together with all the other circumstances.

A bass-baritone with the devil of a part

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

FRANZ Grundheber is nothing if not relaxed. The German bass-baritone had only 1 1/2 hours until curtain time on Saturday, yet was still sipping coffee and chatting at the Israel Philharmonic guest house, and looking forward to the bath he would take before the evening's performance.

opera is about." Rather he prefers to work with directors who grasp the theatricality of the art form. He appreciates those directors who "allow me to be myself, to use my body size and height and the color of my voice. It is these directors who allow me to dig as far as I can into the character and myself."

Aside from the title role in Alban Berg's *Wozzeck*, Grundheber mainly sings Verdi roles like Iago, Macbeth or Rigoletto these days. He does not sing as much contemporary opera as he used to. "In Hamburg when I began I did many modern operas including about 10 world premieres, one of which was *Ashmedai* by Joseph Tal. Now I concentrate more on a different repertoire and have less time for modern work. But in 1999 I will do in Chicago William Bolcom's new opera which is based on Arthur Miller's *A View from the Bridge*."

In 1987, Nadav Nakan and Yair Or, who were living in the US, conspired with Charles Le Gros to murder his parents-in-law for pay. The victims were shot to death in their sleep. Nakan, who denied taking part in the actual shooting, was convicted in the Tel Aviv District Court of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. He appealed to the Supreme Court, but before the appeal was heard, the US authorities asked Israel to arrange his appearance in a US court to testify against Le Gros.

Justice Cheshin dissented from his colleague. Emphasizing that the question of sentence was always one for the court, he described the dilemma created by plea bargaining. On one hand, the punishment must fit the crime, while on the other hand some circumstances justified the prosecution's agreement to a reduction of a sentence which strict justice demanded.

Justice Mazza ruled the bargain should be honored unless it was based on improper considerations or harmed public welfare. Justice Cheshin held the sentence was the responsibility of the court, which was to take the plea bargain into account together with all the other circumstances.

Grundheber's secret is "to make each and every one of these evil characters human on stage." Grundheber didn't see his first opera - *The Magic Flute* - until the ripe old age of 18. "I was fascinated by the human voice, by the way one person can sing. It gave me goose bumps. I tried to do it myself and suddenly a voice came from within me. But it took me more than a few years until I took singing seriously. I did not want to ask my father to finance my studies towards what was considered an insecure job."

Grundheber does not sing more than 70 performances a year. "More would be quite dangerous for my kind of voice." When he rests he likes to relax at home with his four children, aged 18 to 26, and his wife. Franz Grundheber sings in *La Damnation de Faust* with the IPO today, Wednesday and Thursday at the Haifa Auditorium and Saturday at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv.

Justice Bach delivered the first judgment of the court. Nakan's counsel, he said, asked the court to accept the last plea bargain. The state's counsel supported this request, explaining that although the 15-year sentence was justified, fairness demanded that the last plea bargain be honored.

Justice Dorner concurred with Justice Bach. She appreciated the difficulties created by plea bargaining described by Justice Cheshin, but regarded this practice as one means of combating crime. As US courts have said, "Plea bargains are important components of this country's criminal justice system. Properly administered they can benefit all concerned."

The IPO performances of this Berlioz oratorio are not staged, which suits Grundheber. "This is not an opera. Although one could stage it in a stylized way, the best way to do it is in concert form. The conductor is Gary Bertini, with whom Grundheber has performed often. He recently played the title role in Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman* in Hamburg under Bertini's baton. "We tried to show the more humane aspect of

After studying at the University of Indiana he got his first contract as a member of the Hamburg Opera in 1966. He still keeps a home in Hamburg, where he performs every season. Today he is more fascinated by theater than by opera. "Opera lacks the theatrical aspect of the works. I'm not interested in the Italian style of productions where the audience comes to see lavish sets and costumes and the singers just stand there and sing. This is not interesting, this is not what

He said he understood the District Court's reluctance to endorse a 12 1/2-year sentence for such a heinous crime. It was difficult to understand how two young men, who had served in an elite IDF unit, could be "mercenaries" in the cold-blooded murder of an elderly couple. However, Nakan had carried out his part of the bargain in traveling to the US to give evidence, and the prosecution was also prepared to perform its part. The question remained, therefore, what weight was to be given to that agreement. The District Court, he continued, was, of course, empowered to reject the plea bargain and impose the 15-year sentence for manslaughter, the maximum for which is 20 years. The majority judges in District Court also said they had taken the bargain into account, the minority judge having proposed 18 years. It was now necessary to decide whether the 15-year sentence should stand.

She added that the plea bargain in this case would have enabled the conviction of the principal felon had he not pleaded guilty. She distinguished between judicial review of the prosecution's agreement in a plea bargain, and the court's decision whether to accept it. The prosecution's role could be tested by the High Court of Justice according to the usual principles applying to decisions of public administrative authorities. In a criminal case, the court was to judge the bargain as part of its own duty to hand down an appropriate sentence. She was satisfied the last plea bargain in the case should be confirmed.

IN THE result, and by majority decision, the appeal was allowed as held by Justice Bach. Shmuel Nissim and Ya'acov Leibowitz appeared for Nakan; Yiska Leibowitz, then-senior assistant state attorney, appeared for the state; and Hanna Elkis appeared for the probation service. The judgment was given on January 31, 1996.

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Key Representative Rates table showing US dollar, Sterling, and Mark rates.

South Korea raises limit on foreign stock holdings

SEOUL (Reuters) - South Korea said yesterday it is raising foreign stock holding ceilings starting on April 1, a move analysts said would boost the market in the short term.

Deputy Finance and Economy Minister Shim Myoung-ho is expected to announce the expansion in a meeting with the financial market committee of the OECD in Paris today.

While South Korea has been eager to boost the market with more foreign money, it is concerned at the inflationary impact of an influx of foreign capital and that capital inflow will put upward pressure on the Korean won, making exports less competitive.

Market unaffected by bombings

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET

ROBERT DANIEL



ISRAELI stocks rose as investors' concerns eased that the Central Bank might raise interest rates today. The bombings in Jerusalem and Ashkelon didn't affect the market, analysts said.

Gold on the decline COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

MASSIVE fund liquidation last week forced the gold market out of its bullish posture and placed several layers of scale-up resistance between \$400 and \$415 on the April futures contract.

Like gold, silver prices were also hit hard on Friday, correcting slightly lower on the weekly charts than gold futures, technicians noted.

Following early weakness in the market, May cotton futures held on to their recovery into the close to settle on Friday with solid gains.

Clinton's Fed appointments expected to be quickly approved

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton's package deal of Federal Reserve appointments - including the re-nomination of Chairman Alan Greenspan - is expected to have bipartisan support.

The president's decision on Greenspan, while expected by investors, helped send the benchmark 30-year bond higher in late New York trading.

Analyst David Jones of Aubrey G. Lanston & Co. in New York called Rivlin and Meyer "excellent" choices for the Fed.

West German industrial confidence weakens

MUNICH (Reuters) - The Ifo economic institute said its industrial confidence index in west Germany declined in January to 92.6 from 93.2 in December and 105.0 in January 1995.

Companies were somewhat more optimistic than the month before while building companies remained as negative as they did last month.

Iraqi oil negotiator back in Baghdad to brief leadership

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - Iraq's chief negotiator at oil talks with the UN, Abdul-Amir Anbari, is back home to brief Iraqi leaders on the outcome of his negotiations.

Iraq and the UN wound up a first round of talks on Monday without reaching an agreement on how to permit Baghdad partial oil exports in return for importing urgent humanitarian supplies.

The New York talks were held to explore ways for Iraq to sell oil in exchange for food, medicine, and the basic needs of the Iraqi people.

TEL AVIV STOCKS table with columns for Multi-sided trading, Two-sided trading, and PARALLEL LIST. Includes various stock symbols and prices.

World sugar futures settled lower on Friday after a newsless session that saw activity on spreads and good support from commercial trade buying.

Inter-Korean trade approvals surge in '95

SEOUL (Reuters) - Bilateral trade across the Korean border soared last year despite icy relations between Seoul and Pyongyang.

West German manufacturing: Survey respondents said they were more optimistic about their ability to export, but remained worried about the overall business outlook.

Saudi finance minister leaves for talks in China

DUBAI (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia's Finance Minister Ibrahim Assaf will leave for China today for talks on economic, trade, investment and technical cooperation between the two countries.

The joint venture would concentrate on expanding and upgrading the Thalini refinery at Qingdao in China's eastern Shandong province and look at a Saudi role in the Maoming refinery in southern Guangdong.

Singapore wants to prosecute all officials involved in Barings crash

LONDON (Reuters) - Nick Leeson may be serving time in Singapore but a year after his crimes broke Barings Bank pieces of the jigsaw are still coming together.

Auditors, banks and former Barings staff could be in the hot seat next, while the Bank of England is awaiting the result of a review by consultancy firm Arthur Andersen into the way it handles banking supervision.

ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK logo and slogan: THE PEOPLE YOU CAN TALK TO.

UN slams Serb exodus from Sarajevo

SARAJEVO (Reuters) - The United Nations accused the Bosnian government and Serb leadership yesterday of undermining efforts to preserve a multi-ethnic Bosnia as the Serb exodus from Sarajevo suburbs continued.

Five Serb-inhabited Sarajevo suburbs are due to be transferred to the control of the Moslem-Croat federation by March 20.

Thousands of Serbs who refuse assurances that they will not be harmed under Moslem-Croat rule have already fled Vogosca, where federation police arrived on Friday, in a chaotic exodus using any available transport.

A spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Kris Janowski, said Bosnia's Moslem-Croat Federation police were helping fan panic among the Serbs.

"What we are concerned about is the house calls the federation police are making, which is very badly received by the local population, who are already quite scared," he said.

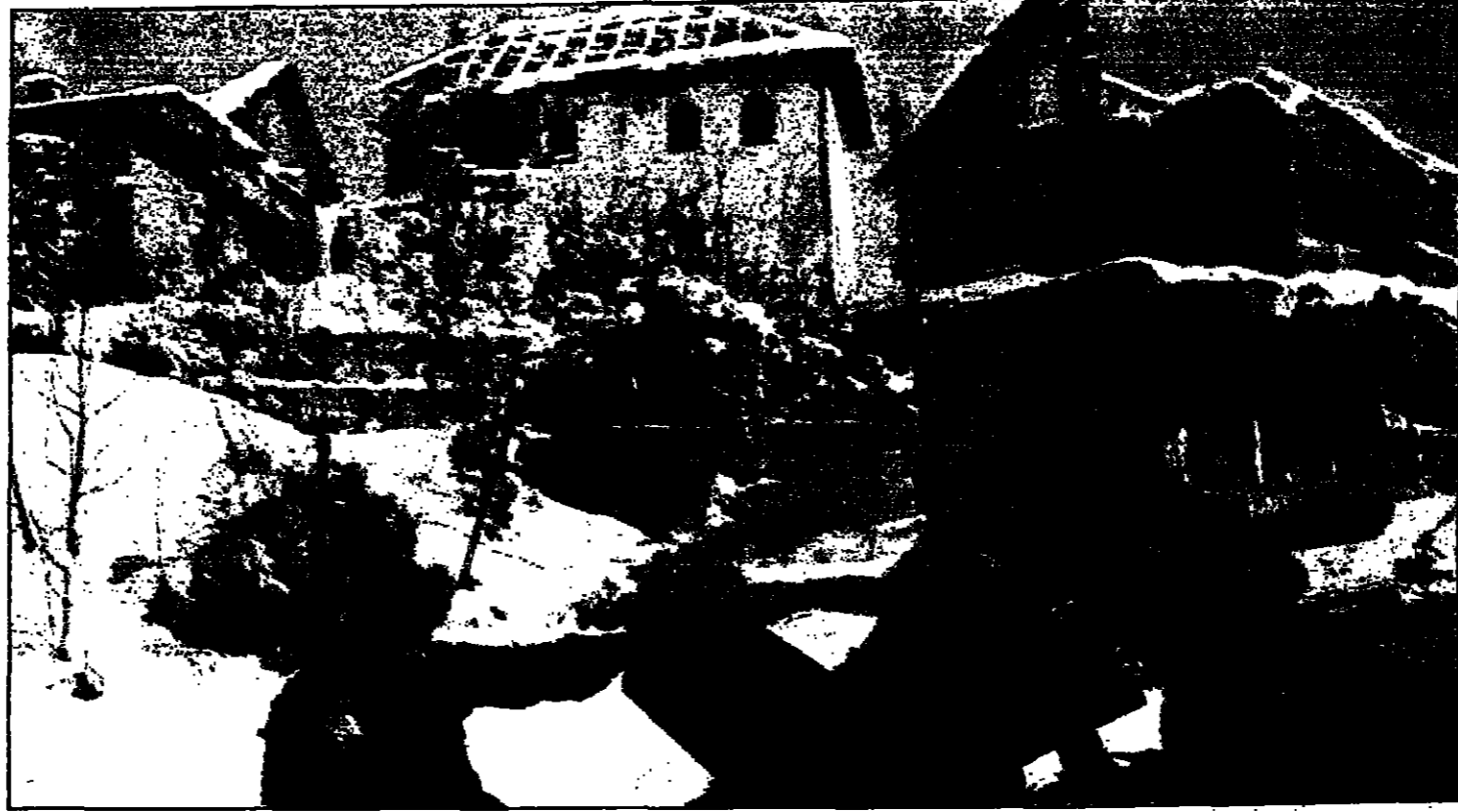
"The whole Sarajevo issue is at stake. And it's not only Sarajevo, it's the issue of multi-ethnicity for the whole country."

"The fewer Serbs (who) remain in Sarajevo the worse it bodes for the efforts here to piece the country together again. The ultimate responsibility will be with the Bosnian government," Janowski said.

While noting that there had been no evidence of intimidation by federation police, Janowski added: "But considering how paranoid these (Serb) people are, how afraid they are, what may be a harmless house call by the federal police may tip the balance, may be perceived as harassment."

UN officials say as many as 20,000 of the 70,000 Serbs in the five suburbs have already left. Tens of thousands more, fearful of reprisals for the 43-month Serb siege of Sarajevo city, are eager to go but lack the means.

Two more bus convoys were scheduled to leave Vogosca and Iljias suburb yesterday.



Italian IFOR soldiers remove an anti-tank barricade from the road connecting Sarajevo's suburb of Vogosca and the center of the Bosnian capital yesterday. Serb army trucks are to be allowed into Sarajevo's suburbs to help evacuate thousands of frightened Serbs. (Reuters)

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WEATHER

Jerusalem 6-12
Tel Aviv 10-18
Haifa 6-17
Beersheva 6-17
Dead Sea 13-22
East 13-22

Forecast: Local showers in the north and center. Partly cloudy to clear in the south.

N. Ireland leader sees truce-for-talks deal

LONDON (Reuters) - The IRA will restore its ceasefire if Britain sets a date for all-party political talks on Northern Ireland, moderate nationalist leader John Hume said yesterday.

Hume, head of the Social Democratic and Labor Party, played a key behind-the-scenes role in bringing about the IRA's September 1994 truce, which the IRA shattered by exploding a truck bomb in London on February 9.

"I believe that if the date for all-party talks is fixed then the IRA will cease (violence)," Hume told BBC television's Breakfast with Frost program.

"I'm saying it with confidence coming from my experience," said Hume, fresh from talks

with Gerry Adams, the leader of the IRA's political wing Sinn Fein.

Thousands of people across the two Irelands were expected to demonstrate later yesterday, fearing that three IRA bombs planted in London in 10 days may dash all dreams of peace.

British police issued a warning that more attacks could be imminent after a cache of bomb-making equipment was found at the home of an IRA man killed when a bomb he was carrying on a London bus exploded prematurely a week ago.

"Ceasefire now. Give us back our peace" is the slogan of the cross-border demonstration. A peace rally is also due to take place in central London.

Dole second again, this time to Forbes

WILMINGTON, Delaware (AP) - Millionaire publisher Steve Forbes won Delaware's presidential primary, handing fallen leader Bob Dole his second defeat of the week and further confounding the tangled contest for the Republican presidential nomination.

Pat Buchanan, who edged Dole in New Hampshire, ran third in Delaware, with former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander a distant fourth.

In a telephone call to cheering supporters Forbes said, "I think this is going to give us a very big boost in Arizona."

The Delaware turnout was low, yet the victory provided Forbes all 12 of the state's delegates to the Republican National Convention. He called his first win after a free-spending but faltering start "a great triumph... the beginning of a comeback that will carry us to the nomination."

Buchanan may benefit the most from Forbes' victory. With Forbes riding some momentum into the next primaries, Buchanan will be in a strong position to win a four-way race in the spotlight contest in Arizona, where he is getting tough on trade and immigration.

Buchanan said that Forbes "finally bought himself a victory in an uncontested primary" by winning Delaware. He guessed that Forbes

would draw Arizona votes that otherwise would have gone to Dole or Alexander, "and to a lesser extent from me."

While Dole had party leaders working in his cause, Forbes was the only top candidate who campaigned here. The other candidates were added to the ballot by state law.

"Delaware certainly is a great state, but we never had a chance to campaign there," said Dole, speaking in Tucson, Arizona. "I think if we placed second we did pretty well."

But he had the active support of party elders and the defeat can only damage his already shaken cause in the next primary.

Arizona shapes up as a tough test for Dole, with Buchanan cementing the right and the newly-strengthened Forbes along with Alexander to divide the more centrist vote.

As in Delaware, Forbes has spent, advertised, and campaigned hard in Arizona. The difference is that the other major contenders are running hard there, too.

President Clinton won on the Democratic ballot.

Aside from Forbes, the rest of the field honored a pledge to ignore Delaware in deference to New Hampshire's effort to be the first primary of 1996.

With 100 percent of Delaware's Republican voting districts reporting, Forbes had 10,732

votes, or 33 percent, and Dole had 8,896 for 27 percent. Buchanan had 6,100, 19 percent, and Alexander followed with 4,374, 13 percent. Radio talk show host Alan Keyes, who also had campaigned here, finished with 1,729 at 5 percent. Indiana Sen. Richard Lugar had 715 at 2 percent.

So far, 78 Republican convention delegates have been chosen; it will take 996 to win the nomination. Buchanan leads with 27 delegates, to 17 for Forbes, 16 for Dole. Alexander has 9 delegates.

All the candidates went West for weekend campaigning in advance of tomorrow's primaries in Arizona and the Dakotas.

Delaware voters cited pocketbook issues in explaining their primary choices: Taxes were a priority and half said they preferred a flat tax to the current system.

Forbes has proposed a single tax rate, known as a flat tax, to replace the current system that taxes the wealthy more heavily.

Dole, Forbes and Buchanan were in Arizona, looking ahead to a primary that suddenly has taken shape as a keen test going into the flood of primaries just ahead. Alexander campaigned in Texas and Colorado, en route to Arizona.

Alexander said that after the next round of primaries "it'll be clear who can beat Bill Clinton, who can defeat Buchananism."

AROUND THE WORLD

Location	Low	High	Cloud
London	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Paris	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Rome	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Madrid	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Barcelona	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Amsterdam	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Brussels	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Frankfurt	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Berlin	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Munich	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Zurich	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Geneva	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Basel	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Vienna	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Budapest	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Warsaw	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Prague	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Brno	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Stockholm	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Copenhagen	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Helsinki	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Tallinn	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Riga	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Vilnius	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Warsaw	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Prague	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Brno	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Stockholm	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Copenhagen	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Helsinki	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Tallinn	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Riga	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy
Vilnius	10-14	14-18	partly cloudy

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Cuba admits downing two 'exile planes'

HAVANA (AP) - Calling them "pirate planes," Cuba confirmed yesterday that its warplanes shot down two planes belonging to an exile group flying off the coast of Havana.

The planes had come within 12.8 km of Cuba, and were shot down Saturday after their pilots ignored warnings to leave. Cuba's Foreign Ministry said in a statement, Cuba claims territorial waters of 19 km.

The US Coast Guard and Navy were searching international waters for the four people aboard the Brothers to the Rescue planes. Coast Guard Lt. Cmdr. Mark Woodring said. A third plane in the group was not hit and returned safely to Miami.

President Clinton dispatched F-15 fighters to protect search and rescue operations. He demanded an immediate explanation from the Cuban government.

Pilots from Brothers to the Rescue dropped leaflets over Havana last July and again in January, urging peaceful protests against the communist regime of President Fidel Castro.

Major faces knife-edge vote over arms to Iraq scandal

LONDON (Reuters) - British Prime Minister John Major, still reeling after the latest defection from his Conservative Party, battled yesterday to stave off a damaging parliamentary defeat over arms sales to Iraq.

Major and his deputy, Michael Heseltine, sought to placate disgruntled Conservatives by promising to learn the lessons of judge Sir Richard Scott's inquiry into the export of arms-making equipment to Baghdad in the late 1980s.

One Conservative member of parliament, Peter Thurnham, resigned last week to sit as an independent in protest over the government's refusal to heed Scott's criticism of the role of two ministers involved in the affair.

Thurnham's defection, the third by a Conservative in five months, reduced Major's majority in the 651-seat House of Commons to just two, raising the real prospect of defeat when MPs debate the Scott report today.

Defeat would not be fatal: all parties accept Major would win a

vote of confidence that he would call the following day.

But a loss would graphically expose Major's precarious grip on power. As such it would be bound to fan speculation that he might be forced to advance the next general election, which does not have to be held until May 1997.

Major held out an olive branch to Conservatives tempted to withhold their support today by pledging for the first time to act on Scott's dense, 1,800 page report.

"There are issues about the way government works, which we need to discuss. I'm sure there are things we can do - and we will do - to make sure that government works better," Major wrote in yesterday's *News of the World*.

Scott found that William Waldegrave, now number two at the Treasury, repeatedly misled parliament when he said that British export guidelines on arms-making equipment had not changed.

He also criticised the government's chief law officer, Sir Nicholas Lyell, for advising min-

Winning cards

In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the ace of spades, 10 of hearts, seven of diamonds, and nine of clubs.

Australia's Labor surges

SYDNEY (Reuters) - Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating gained a boost to his re-election bid yesterday as he rose in opinion polls, saw Labor surge in a state election and defeated his opponent in a television debate.

As counting continued after Saturday's Tasmanian election, Labor achieved a 12% swing against the conservative state government, bolstering morale in Keating's Labor party in its battle for re-election.

Polls show Labor now level with the opposition coalition of Liberal and National parties, each with 50% of the vote.

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